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The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY

A Journal of Religion

The Church and Its Endowments

Can the Farmer Be Saved?

Editorials

How Can We Face The Crisis?

By Kirby Page

California Convicts Itself

By Lawrence Wilson

15 Cents a Copy • April 17, 1935 • Four Dollars a Year

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Calendar of Coming Events

Apr. 22. Congregational convocation, New Haven, Conn.
Apr. 22-May 3. Ninth session rural church school, Vanderbilt school of religion, Nashville, Tenn.
Apr. 22-24. Yale divinity school convocation, New Haven, Conn.
Apr. 23, 24. Annual meeting, editorial council of the religious press of America, Willard hotel, Washington.
Apr. 23-28. Illinois Evangelical church conference, Bethany church, Highland Park, Ill.
Apr. 24. New Hampshire Methodist Episcopal conference, Rochester, N. H.
Apr. 24. Central Pennsylvania annual Methodist conference, Lincoln street church, Shamokin, Pa.
Apr. 24. Central west annual Methodist conference, Kansas City, Mo.
Apr. 24. Wyoming annual Methodist conference, Central church, Endicott, N. Y.
Apr. 25. Eastern Swedish Methodist Episcopal conference, New York.
Apr. 25. Newark annual Methodist conference, St. Luke's church, Newark, N. J.
Apr. 25. Troy annual Methodist conference, Troy, N. Y.
Apr. 26. Eastern Swedish annual Methodist conference, New York city.
Apr. 26, 27. Eighth national conference of the American Association for Social Security, Hotel Astor, New York.
Apr. 29-May 1. Sixth annual missionary education institute, First Baptist church, Indianapolis, Ind.
Apr. 29-May 10. Disciples of Christ Spring leadership training course, Indianapolis.
Apr. 30. North Indiana annual Methodist conference, Fort Wayne, Ind.
Apr. 30-May 1. Annual meeting, department of evangelism, Federal council of churches, Washington, D. C.
Apr. 30-May 5. Bruce Curry Bible lectures, Seattle, Wash.
May 1. New England Methodist Episcopal conference, St. Paul's, Lowell, Mass.
May 1. Lexington Methodist conference, McKinley church, Dayton, Ohio.
May 1. St. John's River Methodist conference, White Temple, Miami, Fla.
May 1-5. Annual Evangelical conference, Decatur, Ind.
May 2-5. National younger men's missionary congress, Stevens hotel, Chicago.
May 4, 5. Golden jubilee celebration Salvation Army, Chicago.
May 6. Methodist ministers association, Indianapolis, Ind.
May 7-9. Baptist state convention of Washington, Yakima, Wash.
May 7-10. English Evangelical Lutheran synod of the northwest.
May 8. Maine Methodist Episcopal conference, Houlton, Me.
May 8. Annual meeting Methodist church federation, Indianapolis.
May 8. Northern New York Methodist conference, Carthage, N. Y.
May 8-10. 70th anniversary convention of the Kansas Council of Christian education, Wichita, Kans.

(Cont'd in third col.)

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

April 17, 1935

CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON, *Editor*
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WINFRED ERNEST GARRISON, *Literary Editor*

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In This Issue

LAWRENCE WILSON is minister of the Pioneer Congregational church at Sacramento, California, and chaplain of the house of representatives of the California legislature. He is a member of the board of the Congregational-Christian council for social action.

PAUL HUTCHINSON is managing editor of The Christian Century.

KIRBY PAGE formerly editor of The World Tomorrow, is now a contributing editor of The Christian Century.

CHARLES W. GILKEY became dean of the chapel of the University of Chicago after a long and distinguished service as minister of the Hyde Park Baptist church, Chicago. Few preachers are in more constant demand at colleges and universities from one end of the country to the other. He has been Barrows lecturer at the universities and other intellectual centers of India.

RAYMOND KRESENSKY is a Presbyterian minister and a poet, at Algona, Iowa.

Calendar of Coming Events

(Cont'd from first col.)

May 9. National convention for religious and welfare recovery, Washington, D. C.
May 9-11. State young people's conference, interdenominational, Austin, Minn.
May 10-11. Northampton county Sunday school convention, Wesley Methodist church, Bethlehem, Pa.
May 13. Annual meeting council of churches, Kansas City, Mo.
May 13-14. Annual meeting Chicago Baptist association, Englewood Baptist church, Chicago.
May 13-15. Annual Disciples convention, Marion, Ind.
May 13-15. Church choir contest and festival, Northwestern university, Evanston, Ill.
May 14-15. N. E. council of federated church women interdenominational, New Haven, Conn.
May 15-18. Southern Baptist convention, Memphis, Tenn.

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The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
An Undenominational Journal of Religion

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EDITORIAL

IN THE final stages of the congressional struggle with the five billion dollar relief measure and the first hours after its passage, the attention of the statesmen seemed to be chiefly centered on the question as to whether the senate had won a victory over the house or the house over the senate. There was, in fact, a good deal of face-saving on both sides, and the final result of the conference committee's deliberations was a sufficiently fair compromise so that each had trophies to exhibit to admiring or critical constituents. The total appropriation carried by the bill was $4,880,000,000. It can be stated as about forty dollars for every man, woman and child in the United States, if that makes the debt burden seem any less. Of this total sum, $900,000,000 is specifically designated for loans and grants for non-federal projects; and of this amount one-fourth must be expended for labor, the President to determine what constitutes an expenditure for labor. The senate got the right of confirmation of the higher officials who will be entrusted with the administration and expenditure of this fund. Subject to these not very serious limitations, the whole stupendous amount is virtually at the President's disposal. Probably nobody ever before had so much money at his disposal at one time. If this does not prime the pump, it will be clear either that the well has gone dry or that we have the wrong kind of pump.

Five Billion Dollar Relief Bill Is Law

Methodists Attack and Father Coughlin Replies

METHODISM'S federation for social service is a valiant body of crusaders for economic justice directed by secretaries who have the courage to make uncompromising utterances. In a recent report the secretaries expressed caustic criticism of Father Coughlin and Senator Huey Long, both of whom they accused of practices inconsistent with their professions of concern for the welfare of the downtrodden. Now the exchange of personalities is a game that both sides can play, and these two "radio heretics" play it exceedingly well. Their programs of economic reconstruction have won popular followings that make them formidable and are open to criticism by anyone who cares to discuss them. But to complicate the consideration of, for example, Father Coughlin's sixteen-point platform by allegations that the radio priest employs non-union labor and pays his office workers a starvation wage is to divert attention from the main issue into unprofitable channels. If he ever aspires to a position of responsible leadership, his character as evidenced by his own course of action will be a legitimate subject of inquiry. So long as he is simply tossing ideas into the air, they should be judged on their merits, not on his. Some of his ideas, we think, are very bad; but they would be none the better if he paid wages above the union scale, and none the worse if he ran a sweatshop. Meanwhile Father Coughlin vehemently declares that the charges brought against him as an employer are false. Whether they are false or true is a question of fact to be decided on the evidence, if anyone cares enough about it to investigate. Doubtless the Methodist secretaries had evidence which seemed to them convincing before they issued their statement, but they might have known that in launching their attack they would be inviting a reply which would simply clutter up the air lanes with irrelevant invective.

Austria Follows Germany In Defiance

AUSTRIA'S announcement "in sixty words" that the granting to her of a full equality "was a self-evident supposition," and that she had now entered upon the "necessary procedure to increase the armed forces," was only to be expected. And although the allied nations pretended to be shocked, this news item was simply of a piece with what has been happening all along the European front. The Versailles chickens are everywhere coming home to roost. Yesterday it was Germany, today it is Austria, tomorrow it may be Hungary, and then Bulgaria. The Austrians are probably the least warlike people in Europe. They are not seeking territorial aggrandizement, as are the Germans, but they do wish to see certain treaty provisions scrapped or materially altered. And whereas Germany has set the pace, the blame does not ultimately rest on any present European government, nor is the problem

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merely a military one. It is even more a diplomatic problem, and it involves all of Europe. The little entente maintains that it depends for its very existence on such treaties as Versailles, Trianon and Neuilly. To be sure, Rumania antedated these agreements, but with only about half her present territory and population. Serbia was but a fraction of the present Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia had yet to be born. Anything therefore that weakens the present treaties threatens the life of these "succession states." That is why Hitler's action was sure to have such widespread ramifications. Regardless of the grim process of cause and effect which has brought German rearmament, the map of Europe is once again at stake, for what is happening now may ultimately mean the surrender by the new states of important sections of their present territory for the benefit of the "defeated" central powers. No lover of peace can help shuddering at the prospect of increased military tension throughout Europe—tension induced by desperate nations seeking to right wrongs which can probably never be righted by war, and for which effective means of peaceful solution have still to be discovered.

Scottsboro Decision Changes Southern Jury System

LAW enforcement agencies in the southern states are still staggering from the blow delivered in the supreme court's Scottsboro decision. If the exclusion of Negroes from southern juries means that "equal protection of the laws" is denied to Negroes who are brought to trial, and that any conviction under these conditions is liable to reversal on appeal, the consequences and implications extend far beyond the case in which the decision was rendered. It means that most convictions of Negroes during the past half-century or more may be reviewed and reversed, and that future convictions will not stand unless the system of jury selection is immediately altered. This creates a really dangerous situation. The governor of Alabama, the state most directly concerned, has met it in the right spirit and with the proper action. He has ordered that race discrimination in the making of jury lists cease. There has never been any law to support it. In most southern states, Negroes have not been excluded from jury service by law any more than they have been excluded by law from voting; they have simply been excluded. The assistant attorney-general of Arkansas stated the practice in his state naively when he said: "It just happens that no jury commission selects Negroes for jury duty. It may be just a coincidence." It certainly is—a coincidence between the practice of the jury commissions and the popular opinion that Negroes should not be admitted to participation in the civil life of the state. That makes the situation all the easier to remedy. No legislation is needed, but the white officials will now have to make their acts coincide with the principle laid down by the supreme court instead of with local prejudice. The governor of Alabama deserves all praise for the promptness with which he has declared that "Alabama is going to observe the supreme law of America," and has taken steps to make the practice of the courts conform to the law. The change may be, as he says, "the most revolutionary since the war between the states," but the good sense of the southern people is capable of making it. What will be much harder—impossible, in fact—is to give the Scottsboro boys a fair and unprejudiced trial now, after all these false starts and reversals, no matter what kind of jury is in the box.

Has European Diplomacy Become a Continental Squirrel Cage?

WHETHER or not the diplomatic picture of Europe has materially changed now that Mr. Eden has brought his exploratory tour to an end remains to be seen. His visit to Czechoslovakia, not originally planned, was a sort of last minute arrangement in view of the strained relations between that country and Poland. Prague rather than Warsaw was therefore the last stop. No decisions have yet been made, or could be made, as a result of Mr. Eden's conversations. He has done more listening than talking, has made elaborate notes, and has now laid his report before his British colleagues. From official and semi-official communiques and other sources of information the following observations have become obvious: that the visit with Hitler created an alarming impression of Germany's desperation and intransigeance; that the conversations with Stalin and Litvinoff brought Great Britain and Soviet Russia closer together than they have ever been except perhaps during the war; that the conversations with Joseph Beck and Marshall Pilsudski produced no practical results because of Poland's determination not to participate in an eastern pact; and, finally, that the visit with M. Benes simply confirmed the friendship between Britain and Czechoslovakia, and the similarity of their peace aims in terms of collective security. Whether the conclusions resulting from this tour will alter the course of the three-powered conference at Stresa now in session is extremely doubtful. Italy was, and still is, plainly irritated by England's conciliatory policy toward Germany. France is non-committal, but is not likely to go all the way with Italy. The eastern pact, too, seems far from becoming a reality in view of Poland's attitude. These and other problems just as stubborn face the Stresa delegates. All of which makes it appear that the continental squirrel cage will simply be given another whirl, and that the dark clouds of war will continue to hang low over Europe.

Will the Copeland Pure Food Bill Also Be Pigeonholed?

SENATOR COPELAND'S pure food and drug bill, S 5, is having rough sledding, what with a broadside attack launched against it by the same old vested interests and the attitude of indifference and defeatism with which it is being received by the public at large. The merits and demerits of this bill were discussed in the March 13 issue of The Christian Century by Mr.

T. Swann Harding. In this article Mr. Harding argues that while the proposed bill has obvious defects it is, with minor exceptions, preferable to the Tugwell bill, S 1944, which was effectively pigeonholed by the seventy-third congress, and infinitely superior to the present antiquated Wiley bill. The Copeland bill, as Mr. Harding has pointed out, makes specific provisions. It requires truthfulness in the advertising and labeling of foods, drugs and cosmetics; it prohibits traffic in foods that are dangerous to health by virtue of the use of uncertified colorings or unsanitary handling; it provides for the promulgation of standards of identity and a reasonable standard of quality for all foods; it requires that claims made for the therapeutic effect of drugs be sustained by demonstrable scientific data or by substantial medical opinion"; it authorizes, finally, the executive seizure of imminently dangerous foods and drugs, and provides penalties. One senator has moved to permit the federal trade commission rather than the pure food and drug commission to regulate the advertising. To this amendment Mr. Copeland is strongly opposed. In a speech on the floor he charged that "hidden influences" were behind this and other efforts to emasculate the bill to the point of utter uselessness. The senator is probably correct; but whether he is or not a further tampering with the bill will undoubtedly do more harm than good, and its passage by the present congress seems now to hinge on the pressure of public opinion. S 5 will be neatly tucked away, along with S 1944, unless the consuming public lets congress know that it wants this bill passed.

How the Munitions-Maker Garners His Profits

FOR a perfect illustration of what is wrong with the munitions racket it would be hard to improve on the incident of the Bath Iron works which was spread on the records of the senate investigating committee last week. The Bath Iron works is a comparatively small shipbuilding yard in the Maine city of that name. In the summer of 1933 it was already building one destroyer when it entered the competition for building two more on which contracts were about to be let by the government. Its bids were high. Then a Mr. Roger S. MacGrath, a friend of the secretary-treasurer of the Bath works, was brought into the picture. Mr. MacGrath seems to have been widely known as a friend of young Mr. James Roosevelt. Accordingly, Mr. MacGrath wrote to Mr. Louis McHenry Howe, chief secretary of the President, reminding him of this friendship with the President's son, of the part which he had played in "almost" carrying Bath, a normally republican city, for Roosevelt in the 1932 campaign, and promising that if the contracts for the two new destroyers were awarded to the Bath yards "the psychological effect will be looked upon very favorably by the people of Maine and will be very helpful in the upbuilding of the democratic party in this state." Not long after Mr. MacGrath went after the contracts in this fashion the Bath bid, which had previously been thrown out by the navy on technical grounds, was reinstated, and the Bath Iron works received its coveted order to build two destroyers. To tell this tale is not to impute any particular guilt to anybody, least of all to Mr. James Roosevelt who, despite the fuss stirred up in the partisan press, seems simply to have had his name and his friendship used without his knowledge. But that's the way the game is played—by seeking back-door entrances to the seats of power, by dangling political bribes, by trading on "influence," and by high-pressure lobbying. Government manufacture of war supplies would not solve all the problems, but it would put a stop to this sort of political and industrial debauchery.

The Strachey Farce Reaches Its Conclusion

NOW that Mr. John Strachey has departed, government officials responsible for his arrest and trial may hide their embarrassment as best they can. The proceedings against Mr. Strachey lacked both sound judgment and good taste. Not only were his views well known before he ever gave his first lecture, but in the deportation trial not a single charge against him was proved. He had been arraigned as an alien subject to deportation because, in terms of the law, he "advocated or believed in the overthrow of our government by force." Released on bail, he returned to the platform and gave lecture after lecture on the very point at issue. He not only denied advocating violence, but said repeatedly that he personally shrank from the use of violence. In elaboration of this point, and speaking only for himself, he said he simply believed that capitalism was now in the process of breaking down, that through much bungling and violence it would collapse of its inner defects, and that regardless of whether or not fascism was next in line the communistic form of society was ultimately inevitable; but he denied that a prediction of these developments constituted advocacy of them. There is no doubt that Mr. Strachey drew this issue to a very fine point, but as a legal defense it was unassailable. The government was left without a legal leg to stand on and was forced to admit it by dropping the proceedings. It is not to the credit of the administration, and particularly of Miss Perkins's labor department, that it permitted Mr. Hearst, the American Legion and similar influences to prod it into taking this action. In thus violating our traditional conception of freedom it proved itself only half sincere and therefore utterly unconvincing. Mr. Strachey could now be pardoned if he should indulge in a hearty laugh. As to the immigration officials, they would do well to file the proceedings of this case, and the record of its aftermath, for future reference.

The Arkansas Legislature Shows Good Sense

DEMOCRATIC government, whether under republican or monarchical form, is government by public opinion, and it is cheering to record that it is still functioning in America. The Arkansas legislature, moved by protests from within and without the state, has killed both the Gooch bill and the "nuisance" bill which

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were introduced with the primary purpose of liquidating Commonwealth college and with the further purpose of making any form of radical or even semi-radical protest against present day conditions, illegal. Although Commonwealth is a small labor college, its call for aid against the legislative offensive was answered by people of such widely differing points of view as Jane Addams, H. L. Mencken, Alexander Meiklejohn, Mrs. Edward Bellamy, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Eugene V. Sutherland, chairman of the Conference of Younger Churchmen of the South; Congressman Thomas R. Amlie, President Frank Graham, of the University of North Carolina, and Winifred L. Chappell, secretary of the Methodist federation for social service. In their replies to Commonwealth's appeal there was not only indignation and sound sense but humor. Mr. Mencken, for instance, invited the college to move to Maryland where he promised it free speech and offered to find radical professors for its faculty and himself to give a course in moral theology—whatever distinction there may be between that and ordinary theology. The college's victory was so complete that the senate not only killed the Gooch bill by 24 to 6 but allowed a senator to call the body to "disorder" and in a mock session passed it unanimously with pages, visitors and newspaper men voting. Not dignified, perhaps, but when one considers that death by ridicule sharply decreases the chances of resurrection, salutary. Meanwhile the legislative committee investigating the work of the college reported that it was radical, that it included communists in its student body, but that, in a time of dislocation, critical discussion of social issues was to be desired. All in all, quite a complete victory.

The Church and Its Endowments

THE CLASH of opinion between the General Council of Congregational Churches in the United States and the "Corporation of the General Council," which is charged with the care and investment of its endowment funds, brings the ethics of capitalism and the church's relation to it squarely to the attention not only of the denomination immediately concerned but of all other Christian bodies that have money that they want to keep and souls that they want to save.

At its meeting at Oberlin, Ohio, in June of last year, the General Council of Congregational churches adopted a resolution calling for sweeping changes in the present financial and industrial order. It was a very bold resolution. It did not denounce capitalism by name, but it called for a "genuinely cooperative social economy democratically planned." It did not advocate socialism, but it expressed a willingness to "modify or eliminate private ownership of the means of production or distribution *wherever such ownership interferes with the social good.*" The limitation expressed in this last clause should be especially noted, for it affords a base line from which to measure the thoroughly reactionary character of the corporation's attitude repudiating the act of the general council as a dangerously radical statement rendered comparatively innocuous only by the fact that it is merely "an unauthoritative minority pronouncement."

The exact language of this resolution is worth repeating, even though it ceased to be news nine months ago:

> *Whereas,* our present competitive profit-seeking economy shows itself to be increasingly self-destructive and,
>
> *Whereas,* it depends for its existence upon exploitation of one group by another, creates industrial and civic strife and international war, precipitates periods of unemployment, perpetuates insecurity and all its attendant miseries, and progressively curtails the cultural and educational opportunities of our people, thus destroying human values, moral and spiritual, and
>
> *Whereas,* these flagrant social evils exist side by side with potential natural abundance, which the present economy is unable to utilize and distribute, however much good it may have done in the past and however honest and idealistic individuals dependent upon the system may be,
>
> *Be it resolved that:*
>
> We set ourselves to work toward:
>
> The abolition of the system responsible for these destructive elements in our common life by eliminating the system's incentives and habits, the legal forms which sustain it, and the moral ideals which justify it.
>
> The inauguration of a genuinely cooperative social economy democratically planned to adjust production to consumption requirements, to modify or eliminate private ownership of the means of production or distribution wherever such ownership interferes with the social good.
>
> *And be it further resolved that:*
>
> We encourage the study by our local churches of these and related economic problems for their social and moral implications.

So said the general council. But the council's "corporation," to which is entrusted the care of the denomination's endowments amounting to several million dollars, is frankly alarmed at what seems to be an attack upon the system upon which the security of its investments depends. After mature deliberation during these intervening months, a special committee of three members, representing the corporation, reports that the radical nature of this resolution has caused that body grave concern. Naturally it would. The corporation consists of a number of gentlemen who are professionally engaged in the safe keeping and profitable investment of funds. It may be confidently assumed that they are among the best men in the business. The manner of their selection for the function of guarding several million dollars of trust funds is perhaps the most undemocratic thing about a very democratic denomination, but however they are chosen they are doubtless men of competence and character.

These bankers and financial experts believe that the present competitive profit-seeking economy is, on the whole, a very good system. It may be susceptible of improvement in some details, but its fundamental "incentives and habits," which the general council thinks ought to be eliminated, seem to them to be essential to the structure of a desirable society. "Under the capitalistic system," they say, "there have been splendid advances in living standards, in moral and ethical principles and practices, and in religious enlightenment." The fact that several million people have been brought to acute distress under that system, and that twice as many more are so near the edge of economic

disaster that they live in constant fear of falling into the pit, and that there are more men unemployed today than there have been at any time since the world began, seems not to have gained their attention. They make no mention of the fact that the number of persons on the dole in the United States is approximately equal (give or take a few millions) to the number of dollars in the funds which they guard for the maintenance of aged Congregational ministers and the widows and orphans of those deceased. They are right to be concerned about the welfare of these worthy beneficiaries. But they misconceive the spirit of the denomination whose funds they hold in trust if they think it is interested in these alone.

And yet the argument of the corporation works itself up to this magnificent climax: that if profit is eliminated "it would mean the cessation of all income from endowments and the invested funds of the denomination"; and that elimination of private ownership of the means of production and distribution (which the council favored only "wherever such ownership interferes with the social good") would "strike at the security of the very principal of all our funds."

How much of the capitalistic order can be salvaged, and whether there will be enough of it left to justify calling it capitalism when the present economic and industrial system has been subjected to the reconstruction which it is sure to receive, and whether in a society "under the leadership of men and women consecrated to Christian ideals" (to borrow the corporation's fine phrase) some will live by owning while others live by working—these are all very large questions. They are not going to be answered in a minute, though that is no excuse for evading them or for refusing to study them with the seriousness that their urgency demands. But no light whatever upon these difficult problems can be expected from those whose answers and attitudes are determined in advance by special interests, either their own or their clients'. To use the trust fund for aged ministers as a smoke screen to cover a general defense of the status quo is to becloud the larger issues. The support of the superannuated clergy is a worthy cause; but after all it is only a minor item in the much more important enterprise of finding or making a system under which all superannuated workers will be adequately maintained; and that is part of the still larger problem of creating a program under which workers will have a decent and secure living before they are superannuated. The Congregational council's resolution addresses itself to that comprehensive problem. The corporation's reaction is to urge the church to think first of the preservation of its own endowments and the maintenance of a steady flow of income from them.

The corporation is undoubtedly right in saying that the council's resolution is not a "mandate" to the trustees of the funds to cease to invest them for profit. It does not profess to be that. Its only mandate is to the churches, and that in the mild and democratic form of an exhortation to "study these and related economic problems for their social and moral implications." It is both futile and presumptuous for the corporation to urge, as a substitute for such study, that the churches think first of their own funds and let their attitude toward the profit system be determined by the fact that they are enjoying some of the profits.

It may be that the council's resolution was, in a sense, an "unauthoritative minority pronouncement." It was adopted by a vote of 130 to 17 in an assembly of elected delegates of the churches. It may be that this does not guarantee that it expresses the unanimous, or even the majority, opinion of all the Congregationalists in the country. Still, in the matter of popular support it compares very favorably with the manifesto of the special committee of the corporation. This document, declaring the council's resolution a mere minority pronouncement, is signed by the three members of the special committee. By an interesting coincidence, this is exactly the number of the three tailors of Tooley Street who issued a proclamation as "We, the people of England."

No, the Congregational council's resolution was not an instruction to the corporation to liquidate its investments, sell its bonds and withdraw from the present economic order. After all, it is the only economic order we have, and the church, like everyone else, must live under it while it continues, even if it prays and works for a better one. Liquidating investments, or even giving away the proceeds, would not constitute escape from the capitalistic order. The corporation is quite right in concluding that its clear duty is to go on investing its trust funds carefully, and clipping its coupons regularly, and using its income for the support of the aged ministers and other worthy purposes. Even a Franciscan gesture of voluntary poverty would not alter the economic system. But the corporation is quite wrong when it summons the church to rally around its endowments and make the defense of its profits the determining factor in its judgment of the ethics of the economic order. For the church to do that would be to exhibit the "profit motive" at its worst.

Can the Farmer Be Saved?

TWO years ago farmers in the Iowa corn belt were threatening to starve the cities by withholding their products from the markets, while other farmers in the Wisconsin dairy region were dumping milk from city-bound trucks. No such ferment shakes those sections today. Corn-hog checks for more than $200,000,000 and the slight increase in the wholesale prices paid for milk have restored a considerable, if transitory, degree of calm to these particular spots on the national farm map. But in Colorado and Kansas, where continued drought has left the soil at the mercy of the wind, whole counties are reported on the verge of abandoning their wheat farms. And in the fabulously rich cotton lands of northeastern Arkansas planters are meeting the desperate efforts of tenants to protect their miserable interests with an equally desperate resort to mob brutality. If there is a momentary calm in one section of the agricultural map, this is counterbalanced by the outbreaks elsewhere. And the omi-

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nous nature of these new outbreaks is emphasized by the fact that they grow out of conditions which are more fundamentally insoluble, from the viewpoint of the individual farmer, than those of the corn and dairy regions.

Most disquieting fact of all today is the apparent growth of reluctance on the part of the government to face the situation in the open. When the new deal launched the agricultural adjustment administration it was not able to convince many Americans, either rural or urban, that it had any final program for the solution of the farmer's ills. Inheriting a complex of baffling agricultural problems from the past, many of the first moves of the AAA were frankly announced as expedients designed only to relieve immediate tensions. But at the same time there did seem to be a willingness to face the farmer's problems with complete frankness, and to form policies on the basis of candid public discussion of all the facts. In those early days this apparent determination to get at the truth, and to bring the truth out into the open, did more than any other factor to gain support for the agricultural policies of the Roosevelt administration.

Unfortunately, this public confidence in the candor of the AAA has been allowed to evaporate. As the center of the farm problem has shifted to the stronghold of the dominant political party, the policy of the department of agriculture has seemed to become more and more one of evasion, attempts to cover up, attempts to suppress inconvenient facts—the too familiar tactics of political bureaucracies in a tight corner. When the first reports reached the nation of the horrifying human destruction wrought by the actual working of AAA cotton policies, they were dismissed as the work of irresponsible local radicals in the south. When such a national leader as Norman Thomas added his personal, first-hand evidence, this too was ignored because of Mr. Thomas's political connections. But now the agricultural authorities are confronted with a report by Mary Conner Myer, their own investigator, which is rumored to be far more devastating than any so far made public by unofficial observers. And the whole weight of departmental authority has been exerted to insure against the facts in this Myer report reaching the nation.

The trouble with such a policy of suppression is that it encourages the growth of the evils which it refuses to acknowledge, while it undermines faith in the integrity of the government. There can be no question as to the desperate nature of the agricultural crisis in the south. If any doubt remained, the report recently made by Dr. Edwin E. Embree, president of the Julius Rosenwald fund, the Rev. Will W. Alexander, secretary of the interracial commission, and Professor Charles S. Johnson, of Fisk university—shortly to be published in full by the University of North Carolina Press—should settle the matter. The picture which these three careful investigators draw of cotton agriculture as it is after two years of the AAA is absolutely appalling. *Appalling!* There is no other word. Compared to present conditions among cotton sharecroppers slavery must have been like Eden.

It is of course true that the human exploitation in cotton farming is no new phenomenon. But it is equally clear that the AAA policies have intensified this exploitation; that the injustice, the inhumanity of the treatment accorded tenants and sharecroppers has been more brazen in the last two years than ever. So humanly unbearable has the situation become that some sort of revolt on the part of the victims was inevitable. Such a revolt as is expressed through the Southern Tenant Farmers' union is much more restrained in its demands and conservative in its nature than the nation had any right to expect from these desperate people. The planters, however, have sought to meet it by resort to terror—a terror which in northeast Arkansas is rapidly hastening toward bloodshed. Yet in this critical situation the agricultural authorities of the government have hardly lifted a finger. Why? Because they have been unwilling to admit the facts before the court of national public opinion as to the nature of the crisis or the responsibility of the AAA for the intensity of the crisis.

What needs to be done in cotton? Immediately, the full force of the government should be exerted to bring to an end the night-riding and general terrorism now being resorted to by the planters. If local and state authorities will not do this, then federal authority should be unhesitatingly employed. The planter has called upon the federal authority, by enactment of the cotton control bill, to save him; the federal authority must require complete bodily security and legal rights for all dwellers in the cotton belt while it is attempting to work out this problem. Immediately, such steps should be taken as will insure that tenants and sharecroppers receive their full share of any financial benefits which may accrue to planters under the cotton control policy now in force. This is a question of inserting some common honesty into the situation; if this cannot be done the outlook for the industry is hopeless. Immediately, the problem of relief should be restudied and faced with frankness. The Embree report declares that 600,000 tenant families will soon be on relief, without any chance of getting back on the plantations. If the cotton picking machine, now going into factory production, proves a success, the displacement of cotton farm labor will be even larger. The testimony of Norman Thomas indicates that relief is at present on a sub-human basis. The dictates of humanity—which an administration dedicated to "the forgotten man" can hardly ignore—require that the government make decent provision for these displaced families at once.

But these are only the steps that are required without a moment's longer delay to hold the situation together and to keep it from passing into irrevocable human disaster. What about permanent policy? What should be the long range plans for saving the entire structure of cotton agriculture?

Here the problem merges with the national agricultural problem as a whole, and the policy which the administration favors is, in the large, much the same as that which it has favored for other types of farming. Roughly summarized that policy might be said to be: Get the farmer on good land; get the farmer on his own land; get the farmer to making money by re-

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storing his export markets; pending that, control his output sufficiently to restore the prices of farm products to a point where the farmer will make money even though confined to the domestic market. Practically every move which the agricultural authorities are making today, all the way from seeking tariff reductions to the plans for transporting "submarginal" farmers to Alaska, fits somewhere into that general framework.

Such a policy will be recognized at once as in accord with the American tradition of a rural "homestead democracy." The Bankhead bill now before the senate, for example, which seeks to plant dispossessed cotton tenants on farms of their own, is simply a proposal to use government credit to do what was done in the last century through the opening up of new territories. It is the logical next step in dealing with the farm problem after resort to an Oklahoma land rush has become impossible. It may be that public opinion—in rural as well as urban areas—has not yet reached the point where it is willing to contemplate any attack on the farm problem which is not based on this tradition of individual land ownership and operation. In such case the policy of the government for agriculture, regardless of what party holds office, will have to be formed within much the same limits as now control.

It is not impossible, however, that public opinion may change rapidly on this issue. Even the farmer is beginning to suspect that "forty acres and a mule" is not a certain solution of his problem. Individual land ownership, however favorable may be the terms on which the land is acquired, has not solved the problem of the farmer in the semi-arid areas where grass lands should be held for grazing. It has not solved the problem of the farmer in mountain areas, where reforestation and erosion problems far exceed individual resources. It has not solved the problem in arid areas where the government has stepped in to provide irrigation but, by returning the facilities thus provided to private control, has still left a legacy of exploitation. And now if the world market for major crops should continue to be sharply restricted—as there is every prospect that it will be, tariff or no tariff—some kind of government control of the domestic market is going to be required to keep individual land ownership from being a perpetual economic liability.

This is not the time, nor is space here available, to discuss this question at length. But surely it is not too early for farm leaders, both inside and outside the government, to begin to consider the possible necessity of a change in the basic conceptions of American farming. For the present, the government must concentrate its attention on expedients for the relief of the farmer who still owns or leases the acres which he cultivates, and for the support of that portion of the farm population which has already been displaced. The cotton belt and the wind-eroded wheat areas are the two spots where efforts of this kind must be launched immediately on a hitherto unprecedented scale. For the long future, however, isn't it time at least to begin to discuss what is to be done if the present basis of AAA and agricultural department hopes prove illusory? The basis of those hopes is that a restoration of export markets will dispose of the farmer's surplus at a profitable price. Lacking that, and lacking the intention to maintain the farmer indefinitely by subsidy, is not some form of land system other than that of individual holdings under individual control foreshadowed?

On Being Obscure

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: You will remember the story of Douglas Jerrold, the English humorist, who was recovering from an illness and was given Browning's "Sordello" to read. He turned deadly pale and said: "My God! I'm an idiot. My health is restored, but my mind's gone. I can't understand two consecutive lines of an English poem."

Browning can be obscure. So can other poets. So can some preachers, or even journalists. But not all are obscure for the same reason. Browning had a vast knowledge himself and he assumed that his readers had it also; his mind raced along and he assumed that we could keep pace with him. He was in one respect like Tacitus, who is said to have gone over his first draft and left out all words that were unnecessary and then to have gone over it again and left out many words that were necessary. Obscurity may arise, not because the writer is in a fog, but because he is too generous in his estimate of his readers' intelligence. The real difficulty of the reader is in keeping pace with the poet.

But beyond question some poets and divines are obscure because they have no clear light within. Sometimes the orator is obscure because he does not want his hearers to know what he means, or rather because he wants to keep open two roads and his words may be explained afterwards as justifying a movement to the right or to the left. The gift of eloquent but indefinite speech is one without which some statesmen would be paralyzed. They say "Let there be fog!" And there is fog.

Preachers too may be obscure either because they are profound or because they are fog-bound. There was a profound scholar who was lecturing to a popular audience on some deep themes of theology; one of his audience said: "I don't know all that he means, but I'm sure he knows." That is one kind of obscurity. But there is another. You remember, sir, that sermon you heard from Dr. Boanerges on evolution? To this day do you know what he meant by evolution, and what position he took with reference to what he meant? He was obscure because he had not thought out his own position. Yet you remember hearing someone say, as you filed out, "That was a very remarkable sermon; I didn't understand a word of it."

But there are speakers who make things clearer than they are. I used to hear now and then one great preacher who left me spellbound; I could only say, "Why in the world was I ever puzzled by that subject? It is clear as daylight." But it soon became evident that the preacher's gift of lucidity had made dark places seem light when they were not.

Yours in the sunshine and the fog,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

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California Convicts Itself

By Lawrence Wilson

CALIFORNIA'S criminal syndicalism trial is over at last. The climax of a curious succession of contradictions came when the jury returned eight convictions, but not one for individual violation of the criminal syndicalism act! The indictments, which originally had included six counts, had gradually been whittled down during the trial to two—criminal syndicalism and conspiracy. It was not the first count, but the alternative count of "conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence," on which eight defendants were convicted. The six remaining defendants were acquitted of both counts. But if eight were guilty of conspiracy because they belonged to the communist party it seems inconsistent that the other six members should be held not guilty. In fact, the six who were acquitted immediately joined in a statement that if any were guilty all of them were equally guilty.

Ironically, the papers came out immediately after the verdict had been announced, with editorials which had evidently been previously set up, rejoicing that the criminal syndicalism act had been vindicated and that the communist party had been illegalized and removed from the ballot! This was certainly a perverted reading of the verdict. The jury evidently thought that certain communists were knowingly using the organization to advocate violence. But apart from violence, they felt that the communists were using good American methods in maintaining a political party. If the communists are to be prohibited from exercising their constitutional right to have recourse to the ballot, they will be driven to the use of subversive methods.

Serio-Comic Aspects

Although eighteen had originally been indicted by the grand jury, only fourteen were still under trial at the end. Two were dismissed after the prosecution had completed its case, because there was no evidence against them. Their names had not even been mentioned in any of the testimony. And yet they had been held in jail ever since their arrests during raids last July. Another was a boy recently graduated from the local high school, whose case will be tried later. The fourth became seriously ill, and his case is to be disposed of when he recovers. The convictions carry a penalty of from one to fourteen years each in San Quentin prison. The case will be appealed.

One is tempted to treat the trial in a whimsical vein. It started in a serio-comic tangle. It was launched by District Attorney McAllister, at a time when he was a candidate for reelection. He thought that a red-hunt would sweep him back into office, but he was defeated and it took a special appointment from the state to get him into the trial at all. That was the way the trial started. When it came to the close the prosecutor began his address to the jury by waving the stars and stripes. He closed with a melodramatic climax by standing at salute before the flag and repeating the oath of allegiance. That is, he started to repeat it. But to the dismay of his colleagues he forgot the words. While some of us were wondering whether we should prompt him he brought down his saluting hand to fumble with his papers, and ingloriously finished by reading the remainder of the pledge!

Defense Tactics

The chief counsel for the defense was that redoubtable warhorse of the International Labor defense, Leo Gallagher, an honest but ill-poised zealot. He frequently cried out against the injustice of all capitalistic courts, and more specifically, this court. In his exuberance he shook his fist at the jury a few times literally; many more times, figuratively. He twitted opposing counsel with being Elks, and on second thought included the judge, who is an officer in the local Elks lodge. Jurors on two occasions protested against the raucous tones he was using. He exclaimed that he was talking, not to the jury, but to the "audience." Later he explained, however, that he meant to make this in every sense a public trial, not a star chamber affair. His associate, Albert Goldman of Chicago, stated during one of these flare-ups in court that if the defendants were sent to San Quentin it would be their chief counsel who would send them there. The judge finally cited Gallagher for contempt of court. He will be tried later. But in the meantime he has to be tried in San Francisco, where he was arrested one Sunday while he was speaking on the trial, for "disturbing the peace." One cannot help admiring his spunk, though not his judgment. He originally studied for the priesthood for seven years in a Jesuit school in Ireland. Had he persisted he might have rivaled Father Coughlin!

As the trial ploughed on, one gained a deepening impression of its serious significance. It lasted for eighteen weeks. And yet the attendance and interest increased right up to the end. From both sides came reminders that "the eyes of the nation are upon us." It is believed to have been the longest continuous trial in the history of American criminal jurisprudence. Parenthetically, the second longest one was also a criminal syndicalist trial, held in Chicago in 1918, which resulted in the conviction of seventy Industrial Workers of the World, including "Big Bill" Haywood, who later jumped his bond and fled to Russia. Before the jury was finally selected, six weeks were exhausted in challenges and two hundred and fifty persons had been impaneled. The tension on all concerned, including the spectators, noticeably heightened during the last days. Squads of uniformed police were stationed about the court room and patroled the corridors. Judge Lemmon maintained remarkable poise and calm throughout the ordeal. His rulings and his instructions to the jury were models of fairness.

Impressed as a spectator was by the fairness of the judge, he could not escape a sense of sadness that the

representatives of the state should feel compelled to use the methods they did. Two hundred and five books and pamphlets were introduced in evidence. Ostensibly they were secured in raids on local communist headquarters. But the ones upon which the prosecutor relied most heavily had not appeared at all at the time he secured the indictment by the grand jury. It was charged, and not denied, that these had been brought to Sacramento later by the head of the Los Angeles red squad. They were dated—although the prosecutor did not read the date—as far back as 1918. They reflected the conditions of disorder and violence attending the counter-revolutionary days in Russia. They indubitably and explicitly advocated force. But they represented Russian, not American, communism. The principles on which the present communist party in America is based were not formulated until 1928, ten years later.

The Agent Provocateur

The defense contended that these books, from wherever they may have been dug up for purposes of this trial, must have been kept on shelves for their historical value only. The prosecution made much of a passage found in a work on the indigenous character of American communism, which referred to the hope of some communists that there might be an invasion by a red army from Russia. But the prosecutor stopped short in his reading just before he came to the sentence: "But such an invasion would be wrong." He left out a sentence referring to the violence of capitalistic dictatorship, reading on as though violence by "the dictatorship of the proletariat" were being advocated. These are simply a few examples of his tactics.

The central figure in the prosecution was a professional labor spy, one William Hanks. He takes his place with Oxman of Mooney case infamy as a romancer. In answer to a question, he said: "I am seventy-one, but am not too old to be willing to serve my country." Later it developed that he had left the service of the state crime bureau before this trial, and had hired himself to a private detective agency because he was paid a dollar a day more. He joined the communist party, and did his best to foment trouble and create evidence for his employers. He was what is euphoniously termed a provocateur. Also the tale of his "kidnaping" in which he and Mr. McAllister furnished the press with a sensation, turned out to be proof of his utter unreliability.

But on the stand, where he was counted on to provide more sensational testimony, Hanks proved a dud. Although he had been on the inside of the communist party for many months, had attended its meetings regularly, and had done what he could to incite trouble and manufacture evidence, the only violent utterances he could cite had been made in open meetings, mostly in the city plaza. And the only documentary evidence which he could furnish his employers was books and pamphlets which had been sold openly to all purchasers. It cost the state $9,000 to get the evidence brought in by Hanks and other spies of the private detective agency, although it all could have been gathered offhand by any amateur!

The trouble with the communists is that they convict themselves. They are so obvious. They bristle with antipathies. They use foreign words which rattle like a riveting machine. They make the word "proletariat" click with a threatening sound. "Boo-shwah" is pronounced on their curling lips in a way which almost makes it a fighting word. The term "guerilla picket squad" was often introduced through their literature. In vain did they explain that this merely meant a mobile squad. The word "militant" was frequently read by McAllister from their writings. He read it, "military." The communists' violence is confined almost entirely to sour words. And if it isn't the words, it's the tune. They repel you as soon as you get within ear-shot. The last thing their enemies should attempt is to keep them from talking. But some of the sons of the pioneers still have their ears strained for suspicious noises in the night. They still shudder at the sound of war whoops.

It is true that the communists have led many strikes among itinerant fruit pickers and agricultural workers. But one has only to know the miserable lot of those wretched toilers to realize that the strikes would have occurred in any event. One of the strikers, asked why they followed the leadership of communists, replied: "Heck! Conditions were so rotten that we would have followed the leadership of the W.C.T.U.!" The most recent strike in Imperial valley, in which workers have been shot, was conducted by the A. F. of L. And one of the commissioners of Imperial county boasted at a hearing on the repeal of the criminal syndicalism act at the capitol, that "We are not going to have any more trials of agitators!"

Newspaper Unfairness

The contention of the communists is that they do not advocate violence but predict it. They urge workers, whenever there is labor trouble, to be prepared for violence from the other side. They say that they predict violence in the sense that geologists predict earthquakes. People who tell us that we are living over faults in certain parts of California are not popular. But they are in no sense advocating earthquakes. The communists are the premillennialists in the economic realm. Their philosophy is catastrophic. Much misconception and prejudice has been aroused just here. The following example will illustrate. One of the defendants in his personal plea to the jury said: "You jurors will fire the opening gun and let loose a wave of terror such as California has never seen before, if you convict these defendants!" As I listened I found myself bristling. But only momentarily. For his very next sentence explained what he meant. It was: "For the vigilantes will feel that you are giving them free rein, and they will multiply their terrorism a hundred times." And yet the newspaper stories carried only the first sentence. Their clear implication was that the violence would come from the communists. Personally, I think this defendant was utterly mistaken. Nevertheless he clearly said that the violence would come from the other side. And all of the papers made him say just the opposite thing! I am making this point at some length because it was the crucial point of the

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whole trial. Moreover, it is the point at which the public is most sensitive. The press turned the truth directly around in order to prejudice its readers.

I record these things in sorrow. I feel that there is a better way to meet the challenge of communism. These communists had every right to demand fairer treatment from the prosecutor. There was not a shred of evidence that their violent language had actually incited the workers to any violence. Not an overt act on the part of any of the defendants was even hinted at in the testimony. One after another they said on the stand, "You can send me to San Quentin, but you cannot change my mind." They will come out fired with fiercer fervor than ever. Their ideas can only be overcome by better ideas. Their zeal, devotion and sacrifice must be matched by the same spirit.

I say to those powerful people who have been behind this prosecution: You cannot shut up an idea in prison. With all your power you are confessing your impotence when you resort to such methods. You are finding it easier to try by suppression to silence those who have dangerous thoughts than to meet them by struggling with the pain of thinking for yourselves. You are thereby admitting that you have no reasoned alternative to communism. I am not a communist because I have an alternative. It is Christ's alternative.

Heretics of the Air

III.—Mr. Ford's Mr. Cameron

By Paul Hutchinson

A THIRD distinct method of disseminating economic heresy by means of the radio is exemplified in the talks given by Mr. W. J. Cameron on the Ford Sunday evening hour. Father Coughlin, having worn out his welcome from the commercial chains, has found it possible to raise enough money to rent and maintain a chain of his own. Senator Long, despite the threat which his "share our wealth" program levels against the great industrial and financial interests, has found that political importance is sufficient to secure ample time over the major broadcasting systems. But Mr. Cameron's talks are proof that, given an industrial "sponsor" who harbors heretical economic ideas, a regular commercial program can be used to undermine the present commercial structure.

Many will be surprised at my inclusion of Mr. Cameron among the radio heretics. He operates so disarmingly, so briefly, and under such reassuring auspices, that it is difficult to think of him as seeking to promote a new social order. Moreover, his audience is not the kind that might be expected to prove susceptible to the arts of a social reformer. It is, presumably, a far different audience from that which gathers about the loud speakers on Sunday afternoons to listen to Father Coughlin's denunciations. This is the sort of audience which settles back in comfort on a Sunday evening to enjoy for an hour the music of the Detroit symphony orchestra. Mr. Cameron's five or six minutes, inserted at the halfway mark, are likely to be tolerated—and dismissed—as just another form of "sales plug."

But it is this very nature of the Cameron approach which makes it effective. It is probable that Mr. Cameron's ideas change the economic outlook of thousands in circles which are hardly affected by men like Father Coughlin and Senator Long. The thing is done so quietly, with such an air of sweet reasonableness, and with so much restraint that the seeds of economic heresy have been sown long before most of the listeners realize that they have even been exposed to the machinations of the social revolutionist. Yet if I were a Wall street magnate, anxious to preserve the present economic system, I would be far less worried over the ultimate effect of the speeches of the priest and the senator than over those of this mouthpiece of the automobile maker.

Mr. Cameron has a formidable radio task. In his brief interval on the Ford program he must do two things. He must build good will for Mr. Ford and for the Ford Motor company; and he must spread Mr. Ford's unorthodox economic ideas. He must do this in such a way that the radio audience will not twist the dial to other programs, repelled by either a too crass commercial exploitation or a too unpalatable economic diagnosis. That he has been able to do both these things with so little apparent effort is a tribute to the versatility of this Scotch journalist who was brought into the Ford organization to edit the Dearborn Independent for Mr. Ford, and was retained even after that unhappy venture was abandoned.

How Responsible Is Mr. Ford?

The question at once arises as to how much of the Sunday evening economic heresy which Mr. Cameron purveys to the American public represents Mr. Cameron's own ideas, and how much is a reflection of the mind of Mr. Ford. That same question constantly came up in the old days of the Dearborn Independent, particularly after that unfortunate weekly became involved in its anti-semitic crusade. At that time, unless my memory betrays me, Mr. Cameron finally had to assume responsibility for even the material which had been printed on "Mr. Ford's own page" over the manufacturer's signature. But one thing was beyond dispute —Mr. Cameron's editorial views were disseminated with Mr. Ford's approval, and when Mr. Ford tired of circulating them, they ceased to be circulated. So with regard to the present radio programs it can at least be said that, while Mr. Ford probably has very

little to do with the actual content of the Sunday evening talks, if the time comes when he feels that they fail to represent him satisfactorily, that will be the end of Mr. Cameron as a radio commentator.

Economic Criticism Avowed

What, then, is the Ford Sunday evening hour trying to do to the minds of the American public? A large part of its effort, as has been said, is devoted to promoting good will for Mr. Ford and his cars. When the Ford broadcasts were started last October Mr. Edsel Ford promised that the programs "will not be interrupted by irritating sales talks," and Mr. Cameron added that "we will not use this famous symphony orchestra to lure our friends within selling range." In the literal sense, this promise has been kept. Yet many of the broadcasts have been used to persuade the public of the homely virtues of Mr. Ford or of the technical excellence of his factories. The commercial motive is not as flagrantly emphasized in the Ford programs as in most radio advertising, but it is there.

On the other hand, the desire of the Ford broadcasts to deal with general economic and social problems was announced at the start. "Our purpose is not to glorify industry," said Mr. Cameron on the opening night. "Industry at present can profit more by self-criticism than by self-praise. Mr. Henry Ford"—note how this reference to the manufacturer was brought in—"always declares that industry today is in the crude, stagecoach period of its development. . . . Our purpose, rather, is to make a contribution to our country's economic health. America, we believe, is the predestined mother of the supreme art of the future—the art of living together in a truly civilized society where the profit of work will be life and the range of opportunity unstinted." Precisely what this last sentence meant it might be difficult to say, but at least it was a vote from the start against the economic status quo.

An Insinuating Approach

However, the approach to proposals for new economic and social standards has always been made with extreme caution. In the Cameron talks "alien ideas" imported from abroad are rejected as resoundingly as by the D.A.R. The "agents of alien interests who agitate unrest in America" are referred to in tones indistinguishable from those of Mr. Hearst. Apostrophes to the spirit of America, the ideals of America, the marvelous future of America come with great frequency. It is safe to say that most legionnaires could sit through the entire series of Ford broadcasts and never suspect the insinuating approach of subversive ideas. Yet they are there, as in such a passage as this: "Our ordinary daily progress is one of the most revolutionary forces in history. America *is* the revolution. We take more in our normal daily stride than any revolution has ever achieved by its most violent convulsions. This very hour the American ideal is of more vital value to mankind than all the precarious revolutionary experiments now being tried on this planet. Economic liberation *(sic!)* will already have arrived by the American system while revolutions are still stumbling around in the dark trying to find the way."

In essence, the thing that Mr. Ford's radio commentator is trying to do in this and similar passages is to persuade that comfortable middle class portion of America which listens to symphony orchestras and buys Ford cars that the obvious social and economic maladjustments in American life are not a result of the workings of a system which is bad from the roots up, but of a system which has merely gone wrong in a few particulars and which will be righted by the natural, normal processes of American development. The factory system is not fundamentally wrong; the factory is really a means of escaping from labor abuses which originated in home industry; where the factory system is today working human havoc it is because it is being wrongly managed. The profit system is not fundamentally wrong; profit should be a normal by-product of production affording the individual opportunity for the better use of leisure; where the profit system is today open to legitimate attack is in its saddling society with certain illegitimate charges.

Concealed Dynamite

This all sounds very reassuring. People who grow apopleptic with rage at a Coughlin or Long broadcast will listen to it and nod their heads in approval. "That's sound sense; that fellow knows what's what; that chap's got his feet on the ground." But a little realistic contemplation of the "minor readjustments" in the factory organization of society, or in the profit system, which the Ford program proposes will show that these involve changes in the present manner of American life which would probably work out to be even more drastic than a capital levy.

What should the factory system be, as the Ford programs paint it? High wages; short hours; production for use in leisure. "The six-hour day will come because work is plentiful and production is ample; it will come because the American ideal of life requires leisure for men to use and enjoy the things they make. That is the only reason for making things!" Short hours without high wages will do no good; it is merely a means of sharing-the-poverty. Unemployment insurance is a move in the wrong direction; it assumes unemployment and poverty as economic fixtures; "it is a sop to the social conscience, a new form of permanent pauperization, just another way of making society complacent about a condition that ought not to exist at all."

But how can industry bear a load of wages high enough to give workers ability to purchase what they produce and leisure to enjoy what they purchase? By doing away with the profit system? No, says Mr. Ford's commentator, but by doing away with illegitimate profit. And it is at this point that the Ford economic heresy, aimed at the comfortable middle class, joins hands with the Coughlin heresy, aimed at the masses. It may have been more than accident that Mr. Ford was the first, according to the press, to telephone congratulations to Father Coughlin after his recent radio tilt with General Johnson.

The Ford treatment of profit is so much the heart and soul of the economic heresy the motor-car maker is disseminating that it deserves detailed study. While it proceeds from an initial disclaimer as to the funda-

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mental importance of profits—"The profit motive," says Mr. Cameron, "is never life's prime mover. That basic human institution, the family, . . . is not conducted for profit"—it insists that "material increase or profit is a natural principle." "Growth, increase, profit is in the very nature of life on earth." In his parable of the sower Jesus recognized and did not denounce the existence of profits of 3,000, 6,000 or even 10,000 per cent!

Profits and the Profit Motive

"But when we define profit as *money,* unnatural elements enter. It is exclusively in the financial world that one man's profit may be another man's loss. In the natural order it is not so. In the natural order the profit of the field is the crop; the profit of the home is the growing family; the profit of the factory is the product." (Right at that point, of course, is where Mr. Cameron breaks with the capitalist system. But how many of his listeners know it?) "But in the financial world these profits may take on the aspect of losses. Here is a farmer, an able partner of sun and soil and shower. His good acres respond to his husbandry. In the golden harvest of the year he and his acres stand crowned with increase—the cleanest success on earth. Until he drives down to the village bank!—and learns that finance has the power to cancel nature's gain and call it loss."

No, this is not Father Coughlin speaking; this is Mr. Ford's Mr. Cameron.

When you translate this out of agricultural terms into terms of the factory system, what result do you get? There are three kinds of profit which industry can be legitimately expected to produce, according to the Ford view. "The first profit goes to the customer. He gets creative labor transformed into some utility for living. The product he buys must be worth to him more than the money he pays for it. The second share goes to the makers of the product in wages and salaries. These are profit; they should be fair and sufficient profit. The third share goes to the manufacturing plant. As a farmer replenishes the strength of the soil, so industry must care for this almost living entity we call the factory." So far so good.

Down with the Interest System!

But now enters the villain. "Unfortunately, some industries have to produce a burdensome fourth share to pay interest on borrowed money, which the public ultimately pays in higher prices, or reduced values, in low wages or an obsolete manufacturing plant." And this is really the economic policy which the Ford broadcasts are recommending to America—do away with the present banking system and the payment of interest! "Capitalistic finance is built upon the interest system, and interest as a recognized and respectable means of gain was bootlegged into decent business practice only four hundred years ago." Why is the Ford Motor company a portent of the American industrial system that is to be? Because it is free from banker control! "Business cannot serve two masters. It will serve either the production of dividends or the production of goods, but hardly both. The thought that dividends may be only a by-product of business is utterly fantastic to the professional financial mind."

What is economic "loss" in the Ford vocabulary? Certainly it is not what the American man of business has said it is. "In one depression year the Ford Motor company 'lost,' as we would ordinarily say, $68,000,000. . . . However, when a newspaperman asked about this loss, Mr. Ford said: 'It was not lost; we just circulated that much more than we took in.' In his business creed, if you go in primarily for profit you will miss it—profit, like happiness, being a by-product. Likewise, if you spend money for wages and materials —and materials really represent wages spent in other industries—you do not lose it; you put it into constructive processes and in the nature of things it will come round to you again." Then what is "loss"? The answer is brief. Loss is money paid to bankers, or money used in the stock market. Do away with the stock market, do away with the bankers, put plenty of money into circulation, and an emancipated industry will produce a social order emancipated from poverty and fear!

In Line with Tradition

So, with this rapid summary of the economic ideas which Mr. Ford is spending a good many thousand dollars a week to broadcast, I must conclude this series. In writing it I have had only two things in view: first, to establish the fact that economic heresy, finding itself largely debarred from the press, has found in the radio, despite the commercial nature of the American radio system, a means of general access to the American public; second, to sketch the general nature of the most widely disseminated examples of this heresy. It has been, of course, true that under such limitations, I have written nothing which my readers could not have found out for themselves by the simple expedient of snapping on their own radio switches. But what one *can* do frequently is not what one *does,* and such a series as this, bringing together the essence of these broadcasts, may have value for those who have heard only brief snatches. At least, I hope so.

I have no desire to draw morals here, or to pass on the worth of the ideas thus reported. But I cannot refrain from this closing observation: It is a remarkable feature of American history that our genuinely indigenous radical movements—the ones which have actually come up from the grass roots and changed the course of our national development—have been movements which concentrated on phases of the money problem. Andrew Jackson began it with his attack on Biddle and the Bank of the United States; the free soilers carried it on; the greenbackers revived it; the populists led to Bryan who, even in the sadly diluted "new freedom" of the Wilson triumph, secured a federal reserve act to put Wall street in its place. That's our tradition, if we have any—our real upheavals come over money and debts. Is it without portent that these economic heretics who now find the radio so potent an instrument should be setting up their tents again on that old battleground?

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How Can We Face the Crisis?

By Kirby Page

LIBRARY OF THE UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY NEW YORK

OMINOUS days are ahead. The danger confronting this generation can scarcely be exaggerated. International war, civil war, and fascist tyranny are terrifyingly imminent. To recognize the magnitude of this peril is not to display pessimism, but to reveal minimum understanding. To deny that this menace hovers near is not to exhibit robust optimism, but to demonstrate blindness if not actual stupidity. That Europe is rushing toward the precipice of war is not open to doubt. This is not to say that war is inevitable, but a day of doom will come unless present policies are changed drastically.

Action is demanded. But not just any kind of action. When a building is burning, action that takes the form of flinging buckets of kerosene upon the blaze only makes the flames burn more furiously. The more devastating the fire, the more imperative the necessity of examining the contents of the buckets. Under prevailing conditions in the United States, many varieties of action are highly provocative and merely fan the flames of enmity and warfare. Action is demanded, but action toward what end?

Three Deadly Diseases

My own convictions may be summarized briefly. The all-important economic task before us is to take away the power of control over the basic industries from the small minority that now holds it. Domination of the primary means of production and distribution conveys the most powerful type of power there is and enables those who wield it not only to control industry and finance, but also to exercise enormous influence over government, the press, the radio, the movies, education, organized religion and other means of forming public opinion. The modern corporation, by decentralizing ownership and concentrating control, enables rich men not only to utilize their own wealth but to control the invested funds of vast numbers of other individuals. So long as this concentrated control is maintained, three deadly diseases will continue to attack the vitals of American life: maldistribution of purchasing power, inefficient use of national resources, and colossal waste-age from industrial conflict and international warfare.

In order to take away the power of this oligarchy and to cope with these three deadly diseases, private property in the basic industries must be brought to an end. The American people desperately need more private property—in food, clothing, homes, equipment and countless consumers' commodities—but too much private property in the basic industries stands in the way. Public ownership and operation of the chief means of production and distribution would make possible more equitable distribution of purchasing power, more efficient planning and correlating of industry without the menace of monopoly. The ending of private property in this realm would substantially diminish the power of the present oligarchy over government, and thereby make possible a less provocative and more friendly foreign policy.

The primary task before us, therefore, is to bring to an end the system of private property in banking, the sources of electric energy, natural resources, chief means of transportation and communication, and other basic industries such as steel. There are only two ways of accomplishing this end: By confiscation or by purchase. The former can be achieved in the United States only by violent expropriation after victory in civil war; the latter may possibly be brought about by pacific governmental action. There is no certainty, however, that the required change can be brought about by either method. There is a strong possibility that prior to either confiscation or purchase members of the owning class will use their power to suppress opposition by destroying the democratic procedure through the establishment of a dictatorship.

Communists and near-communists say that the only way whereby the power of the owning class can be broken is through victory in class war. They do not advocate the arming of the workers at the present time, but are convinced that when capitalism has decayed to the point of near-collapse it will then be necessary to shatter the power of the existing state and to confiscate private property through the armed might of the working class and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat. But the question must be raised: How realistic is the expectation of success in the United States by this strategy? Such an expectation appears to me as highly romantic. The surest way to fasten fascism around the necks of the American people is to talk loudly of confiscating private property through a proletarian dictatorship. And the argument that fascism will quickly be followed by communism fails to convince, especially in view of the trend of events in Italy and in Germany.

What Action Is Required?

The dice may be heavily loaded against success through purchase, but surely advocacy of the pacific procedure of buying out the present owners of the basic industries and making payment in bonds based upon the value of the property thus socialized is less likely to frighten the owning class into establishing a reactionary dictatorship than is the threat of violent action by the workers. Moreover, there is much less probability that vested interests will be able to secure the required popular support in behalf of a dictatorship at the right. Not only is there more likelihood of success by purchase than by confiscation, but the former procedure is highly preferable on ethical grounds. Confiscation is possible only through victory in civil war, and civil war is the most objectionable type of war.

Therefore, the action most desperately required is action directed toward the pacific abolition of the system of private property in the basic industries. This

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end can be reached only through evangelism, education and organization. Control of government is essential to the exercise of the right of eminent domain in taking private property for public use by the payment of a fair price. Consequently it is necessary to win the active support or the passive acceptance of a majority of voters for a program of socialization of the primary means of production and distribution. But success at the polls will prove to be inadequate unless the new administration is supported by tremendous economic power. For this reason the creation of a powerful nationwide labor movement and a massive consumers' cooperative movement is imperatively required. Without the colossal power of organized labor and organized consumers, control of government could not be secured or maintained.

The test of effective action, therefore, assumes this form: Will this proposed action help to change the minds of citizens in favor of the pacific socialization of the basic industries, will it strengthen a political movement directed toward socialization, will it increase the power of a labor movement committed to socialization, or will it hasten the growth of consumers' cooperatives?

A Call to Sacrifice

Advocacy of pacific socialization through purchase will provoke less hostility than the advocacy of confiscation through violence, but even the former will be met with terrific opposition. Dangerous days are ahead. Persons who are committed to the policy of eventually arming the workers and seizing power realize that their very lives are endangered by the strategy they have accepted. For them heroism and sacrificial devotion are minimum prerequisites of success. Patriots who favor armed preparedness and who express a willingness to go to war in defense of country likewise realize that victory depends upon courage and sacrifice. And surely it is obvious that pacifists who reject utterly the war method and who are committed to non-warlike socialization must be willing to run risks and accept consequences if their objectives are to be reached.

This generation has no alternative to living dangerously. It merely has the power to choose one of various perilous ways. If religious revolutionists are to retain confidence in non-warlike procedures and if they are to persevere in their efforts to socialize the basic industries, they must store up resources upon which they can draw in hours of crisis. Fortunately, vast reservoirs of power are accessible. Fellowship with comrades in struggle and communion with the eternal God multiply a man's strength by ten or by a hundred or by a thousand. When a person feels himself to be alone under a juniper tree he is likely to be overwhelmed with a sense of impotence and futility, whereas his spirit mounts when laboring shoulder to shoulder with comrades who also have refused to bow the knee to Baal.

Fellowship in prayer is a condition of continued loyalty to the cause of pacific revolution. Unless a person is able to maintain vivid awareness that he is a co-worker with God in the age-old task of creating a harmonious community on earth, he is likely to lose confidence in the validity of non-warlike procedures or to become lukewarm in the struggle for social justice. Private prayer needs to be supplemented with corporate worship. Intimacy of friendship, mutuality of concern, and common danger deepen fellowship with man and enrich communion with the Eternal. In a day of crisis nothing is more important than that religious revolutionists should spend time periodically in corporate worship.

Corporate Thinking

In American communities the proportion of religious revolutionists is so small in comparison with the number of church members, and the odds against them are so heavy, that it is imperative that such minorities form intimate fellowships for thought and action. The likelihood of international war, class war and fascist tyranny is so imminent and threatening that prior attention must be given to these menaces. Almost every high value is jeopardized by their approach. Clarity of thought is essential to effective action and therefore intimate and continuous exchanges of ideas and convictions is imperatively demanded. No person has a right to become so engrossed in a mass of detail that he fails to spend time seeking perspective. The times cry aloud for action, but only for action that is intelligently related to a strategy of social change that is consistent with worthy ends. Fellowship in thought on the part of kindred spirits is a source of illumination for which there is no adequate substitute.

The magnitude of the odds against persons seeking radical changes in the present social order makes imperative fellowship in action. Power at the command of vested interests is so immeasureable and opposition to drastic alterations is so vigorous that religious revolutionists will be picked off one by one unless they band themselves together. It is highly important therefore that in every community there be formed fellowships through which resolute advocates of a new social order may act collectively in defense of freedom of speech and press and organization, and through which a collective impact may be made upon the public mind.

The Opportunity of the F.O.R.

That these fellowships should ignore creedal and denominational boundaries and embrace men and women from different churches and communions is highly desirable. Intimate groups of this character are able to exercise influence far beyond their numerical strength. In cities of one hundred thousand population, a determined minority of one hundred resolute religionists compactly bound together could render incalculable assistance in strengthening labor unions, consumers' cooperatives and political socialism. In smaller communities a score of religious radicals united in close fellowship could accomplish wonders. In metropolitan communities a determined fellowship of even five hundred informed and energetic persons could wield tremendous power.

Such fellowships are actually springing up in numerous communities. It is natural and desirable that they

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should assume many forms. But there is also a substantial advantage to be gained by united action on the part of these various fellowships. Some of us are enthusiastic over the possibilities of the Fellowship of Reconciliation becoming an agency through which a rapidly increasing number of pacifist revolutionists may function corporately.

It is imperative that men and women who because of their faith in non-violent methods have unqualifiedly repudiated the war method and determined not to sanction or to participate in any future war among nations, classes, or races, should band themselves together for thought and prayer and action. The Fellowship of Reconciliation is composed of such individuals in more than twenty nations. It is a group of men and women of many nations and races who recognize the unity of the worldwide human family and wish to explore the possibilities of love for discovering truth, dispelling antagonism and reconciling people, despite all differences, in a friendly society. They believe that love, such as that seen preeminently in Jesus, must serve as the true guide for personal conduct under all circumstances; and they seek to demonstrate this love as the effective force for overcoming evil and transforming society into a creative fellowship. Although members do not bind themselves to any exact form of words—

They refuse to participate in any war, or to sanction military preparations; they work to abolish war and to foster good will among nations, races and classes;

They strive to build a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another, and which will assure to all the means for realizing the best possibilities of life;

They advocate such ways of dealing with offenders against society as shall transform the wrong-doer rather than inflict retributive punishment;

They endeavor to show reverence for personality—in the home, in the education of children, in association with those of other classes, nationalities and races;

They seek to avoid bitterness and contention, and to maintain the spirit of self-giving love while engaged in the struggle to achieve these purposes.

The fellowship in the United States maintains a national office in New York city, 2929 Broadway; a southern office in Atlanta, 252 Winona drive, Decatur, Georgia; and a western office in Los Angeles, 4609 Prospect avenue, Hollywood, California.

There are now about 7,000 members in this country. Its officers and a score of volunteer field representatives are prepared to visit various cities and consult with interested persons about the possibility of establishing or strengthening local groups of the fellowship. But the question as to whether or not local groups of religious radicals function through the specific agency of the Fellowship of Reconciliation is less important than that they bind themselves together in fellowship in prayer and thought and action. But it is imperative that we draw heavily upon fellowship as a means of grace and a source of power.

VERSE

Song of the Armorers

"SPEED up, speed up the furnace,
Blow the red flame higher!"
The armorers are singing,
"We'll set the world afire!"

Merrily glow the forges,
Fiercely rings the steel;
Children are starving and crying,
Weeping widows kneel.

The world goes madly spinning
Head-on for another war!
"Munitions! Buy munitions!
That's what we are working for!"

The armorers are singing:
"Blow the red flame higher,
Speed up, speed up the furnace!
We'll set the world afire!"

AMY SHERMAN BRIDGMAN.

Fragment from Marcus Aurelius

AS falls the ripened olive from the tree
When sap is stayed,
So may Death find me thanking God for life,
And unafraid.

GEORGIA HARKNESS.

The Journey

WHEN Death, the angel of our higher dreams,
Shall come, far ranging from the hills of light,
He will not catch me unaware; for I
Shall be as now communing with the dawn.
For I shall make all haste to follow him
Along the valley, up the misty slope
Where life lets go and Life at last is born.
There I shall find the dreams that I have lost
On toilsome earth, and they will guide me on,
Beyond the mists unto the farthest height.
I shall not grieve except to pity those
Who cannot hear the songs that I shall hear!

THOMAS CURTIS CLARK.

Riches

I HAVE a purse in my pocket,
Another in my heart;
The pocket-purse holds some coppers
I toiled for in the mart.

The heart-purse holds the riches
Of earth and heaven above:
Some joy and truth and beauty,
And faith and hope and love.

CHAUNCEY R. PIETY.

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BOOKS

Certitudes of a Liberal Mind

THE CHRISTIAN FACT AND MODERN DOUBT. *By George A. Buttrick. Charles Scribner's Sons, $2.50.*

TWO characteristics give this book its own distinctive place among the many that face the questions which modern thinking puts to Christian faith—characteristics familiar to those who will not soon forget Dr. Buttrick's Beecher Lectures, "Jesus Came Preaching," or who have heard him preach even once. The lesser of the two is the unusual quality of his written style. It is not "fine writing," in any sense that smells of the lamp or echoes the sound of the file; but it is even farther from that more familiar echo in so much modern prose—the hasty rattle of a portable typewriter. These pages, one feels, must have been written and then rewritten by a quiet painstaking hand that has not only encouraged its pen to fluency but has itself been disciplined by clarity of thought to economy of utterance, and above all to persistent search after what Dr. Buttrick himself once called "the inevitable word." The result is that ideas and points of view with which liberal religious thinking has long been familiar in the theological abstract fairly leap from these pages at one's mind and conscience, with a vividness and originality of statement that stir imagination and will alike. Memorable examples of this gift for putting things could be quoted from almost any page of the book.

The deeper characteristic of the book is its unostentatious disclosure of a spiritual life that burns and shines through its pages like fire through the gratings of a furnace. A university official, who had been stirred by the only sermon of Dr. Buttrick's he had ever heard, cited him recently as illustration for his own statement that he did not much care whether he agreed with or differed from the preacher in his views—provided only the inner fire glowed through the sermon. In a generation whose liberal preaching has too much lost this note of inner certitude that speaks "as one having authority, and not as the scribes," Dr. Buttrick has it—and it is even more revealing and kindling than his gift of style. Many passages might be quoted to show the spiritual insight and religious power of the book, among them two memorable paraphrases in the last chapter of the venture of faith in immortality.

One lays down Dr. Buttrick's book quickened in mind and strengthened in soul, yet with the realization that no single book, and no single type of religious life and thought, can meet all the questions which modern doubt is putting to Christian faith. Dr. Buttrick writes particularly from and for the point of view of those who have inherited not only the doctrines and institutions but also the vocabulary of historic Christianity and are concerned to know how far these are still valid for today. This is especially evident in his final chapter, which devotes many pages to building bridges betwen the terms and doctrines of traditional eschatology, such as heaven and hell and the state of the dead, and a modern faith in immortality. Here and elsewhere, one recalls the witty remark that modern religious doubt involves three generations: the first accepted its inherited creed, the second doubts it, the third has never even read it. Dr. Buttrick writes chiefly for—and his book will be a godsend to—that middle generation which has difficulties with the creeds and churches whose doctrines and vocabulary remain nevertheless the pattern of its thinking and the focus of its religious problems; he speaks with native accent the "language of Zion"—though he often translates it into modern idiom and gives it contemporary social application.

But we have with us today a younger generation to whom by and large that language is a strange tongue; for whom these thought-forms and ways of speaking have often become either meaningless or unreal; to whom "the Christian fact," in the sense in which Dr. Buttrick appears to use it in his title, as meaning Christian experience, seems often too questionable in its basis or too feeble in its vitality to maintain itself in the modern world; whose fundamental question about religion is whether it has enough objective validity, or can provide enough social and personal dynamic, to be any more than an "elective" in the modern curriculum, to be taken by the decreasing number of those who are still interested in it. The vital faiths of this younger generation have sprung as often from seeds of social idealism scattered abroad on the rising winds of the threatening storm that darkens our future, as from any ecclesiastical granary; but it is very questionable whether enough of this wheat is yet available to see them through a spiritual famine, or even a long social crusade.

Under present conditions, many pastors will meet both these types of religious perplexity among their own people, and must learn to deal with "each in his own tongue." Fortunately, the last year has brought us two books particularly qualified to guide and supplement the minister in his critical pastoral responsibility. They arrive at a common center of Christian conviction: but like spokes of a wheel that center in one hub, they start from different points and follow different approaches. Dr. Buttrick's book should go straight into the hands of church leaders and members who need to have their own faith clarified and strengthened before they can help their children in college. Dean R. R. Wicks' notable book, "Reasons for Living," recently reviewed in these columns, can go straight into the hands of these confused students themselves. From cover to cover it speaks their language, starts where they are, and moves by their own ways of thinking toward the same constructive and creative faith which Dr. Buttrick and Dean Wicks share, but approach from different sides. Pastors will do well therefore to keep both books on constant loan, to familiarize themselves with the vocabulary and approach of each, and to recommend both, in whichever order best suits each case, to the many who are groping these days for spiritual guidance.

CHARLES W. GILKEY.

The War in the Balkans

BLACKBIRD'S FIELD. *By Victor Komski. Rae D. Henkle, $3.00.*

THERE have been many books in recent years which have given us pictures of the war on the western front, but few, very few, that have served to acquaint readers in America with the war as it was fought in the Balkans. Those countries in southeastern Europe which have always been the boiling pot of world troubles are, nevertheless, little known to the rest of the world. In this book the author, a Montenegrin by birth and a descendant of one of the first families of that little nation, recounts for us his experiences in the last Balkan wars as well as the world war. In his early 'teens Victor Komski (born Ilya Mimovich) joined the Serbian army in the battles against Turkey. Later he was in the Serbian forces fighting Austria, taken prisoner, escaped from prison, imprisoned again, and then a semiofficial leader in the occupied nation of Montenegro. In recounting his experiences the author spares no details however gory or bloodcurdling. He touches up his narrative with bits of philosophy, humor and interesting references but through it all he follows his intention of showing warfare—all warfare—in its lust, hate and cruelty. Beginning as a loyal nationalist, a friend of the assassin who fired the shot that killed the Austrian royalty visiting in Sarajevo, he ends up an advocate of world peace and internationalism. The book is an argument

against war but, in presenting the world war on another front, it becomes a new agent in peace propaganda.

RAYMOND KRESENSKY.

Books in Brief

HAVE WE OUTGROWN RELIGION? *By Charles R. Brown. Harper & Brothers, $1.50.*

Everyone who is likely to read this review knows perfectly well that the dean emeritus of Yale divinity school is confident that we have not outgrown religion. He here addresses cogent words to those who think we have or are not sure. These chapters may or may not have been written for oral delivery. There is such an intimate face-to-face tone in what Dean Brown writes, as well as such a mature thoughtfulness in what he says, that it is hard to tell. And it does not matter. Through either medium he is a stalwart defender of a robust faith.

LEAN MEN. *By Ralph Bates. The Macmillan Company, $2.50.*

The recent Spanish revolution furnishes not only the background but most of the material for this virile and meaty novel. The central character is a young Englishman who goes to Spain as an agent of the revolutionary party, and most of the action is depicted as seen through his eyes. One will probably get a more accurate, and certainly a more vivid, impression of what has been happening in Spain for the last four years from this novel than from any historical, factual or propagandist statement that has yet been issued.

THE FOUR HUNDRED MILLION: *A Short History of the Chinese. By Mary A. Nourse. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, $3.50.*

Perhaps the most readable of all histories of China is this volume by a teacher in Ginling college. If she had in mind its use as a textbook in American schools, as apparently she had, she has certainly not allowed that fact to vitiate the style or treatment from the standpoint of the reader. The political history of China is traced in broad strokes, but the emphasis is upon economic and social factors and the characteristic culture of the people as expressed in industrial arts, literature, religion and philosophy. The author begins with the legendary heroes, sketches the pre-history unearthed by archeologists, surveys the development of the nation beginning with the Chou dynasty in 1051 B.C., and so on down to modern times, devoting about one-third of the space to the events of the last thirty-five years. The maps are particularly useful.

SACRED SITES AND WAYS: *Studies in the Topography of the Gospels. By Gustaf Dalman. Translated by Paul P. Levertoff. The Macmillan Company, $3.50.*

Professor Dalman is among the most eminent of living authorities on the historical geography of Palestine. The present English version of this important work is translated from the third German edition. There is more to it than geography, for the learned author has brought to bear upon his theme an intimate knowledge not only of topography but also of the resources of Hebrew and Christian literature and of the social customs and ways of life of the Jewish people and their neighbors in the time of Christ.

ON WRITING THE BIOGRAPHY OF A MODEST MAN. *By Rollo Walter Brown. Harvard University Press, $1.00.*

Professor Brown wrote the biography of Dean Briggs of Harvard, the "modest man" of this title. Besides being modest, as he undoubtedly was—and how rare a virtue in deans!—Dean Briggs must have been one of the friendliest, wisest and most lovable of men. In this little book the biographer not only tells something of his adventures in pursuit of the data which the modesty of his subject made peculiarly elusive, but by light touches and almost by indirection conveys a sense of the charm of the dean's personality and the solidity of his character. Mr. Brown writes effectively, as a man ought who is the author of an excellent book on "The Writer's Art."

IF A MAN DIE. *By W. Cosby Bell. Charles Scribner's Sons, $1.75.*

Dr. Bell was a professor in the Episcopal theological seminary in Virginia until his death about a year ago. In this book he affirms and defends the continuity of life after death with cogent argument and persuasive eloquence, presenting immortality as an implication of the moral order of the universe.

LIBERAL CATHOLICISM AND THE MODERN WORLD. *Volume I, Belief. Edited by Frank Gavin. Morehouse Publishing Company, $1.75.*

The "Catholicism" of the title is of course Anglo-Catholicism, for no Roman Catholic has dared, since the anti-modernist encyclical of 1908, to call himself a "liberal" Catholic. The book is a symposium by fourteen writers, including some whose liberalism is beyond question and others whose "Catholicity" is well known. The object is to redeem both terms from limited and partisan uses, to show that they properly belong together, and to present a statement of certain central matters of Christian belief in terms consistent with the full meaning of the two words.

CORRESPONDENCE

Mexico and the Church

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: A warning by Bossuet might well be taken by reviewers of books on Mexico: "Let us put ourselves in the state of not being obliged to hate the truth." In making the quotation I am thinking in particular of the review by Maurice Halperin in your issue of April 3, of the "white book" of the Mexican government put out under the name of Emilio Portes Gil, minister of foreign affairs. Mr. Halperin is an instructor of French in the University of Oklahoma. His Mexican experience comes from a trip across the Rio Grade.

He states that "since the conquest the role of the Catholic hierarchy has on the whole been a nefarious one in Mexico. For four hundred years it has consistently opposed all social, economic and scientific progress, has indulged in an unmitigated material exploitation of the masses, and in the name of divine right has perhaps been the largest single agency of feudal despotism in the country's history. Its character today remains fundamentally unchanged." The statement is a falsehood. Mr. Halperin makes it on his own responsibility. In my book, "Blood-Drenched Altars," I answer it with documentation. Mr. Halperin simply repeats historical gossip that has not the slightest foundation in fact. Since Mr. Halperin gave no documentation in his review it will be sufficient for me to refer him to a place where he can find it.

He states that the church is encouraging armed rebellion at the present time. The statement is untrue. The letters of the apostolic delegate, as well as the orders of the Holy See, are definite on the point. The apostolic delegate to Mexico achieved unpopularity among the people by his definite stand against armed rebellion. I charge Mr. Halperin either with failing to read the book he reviewed or deliberately suppressing a fact. The apostolic delegate's public statement appears in the "white book" he reviewed.

Mr. Halperin says that Catholicism has never been more than a superficial veneer under which his (the Mexican's) ancient communal paganism lies undisturbed." This statement is true only of the revolutionists of the Calles and Gil type. They called themselves Catholics. They are Catholics only in the sense that they want the services of a priest when they are dying. Anyone who has seen the Christian piety of the Mexican people knows that Mr. Halperin is wrong. Nor are the Mexican people "indifferent

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to the expulsion of high prelates or to the clergy's self-imposed abstention from its duties." The people are disarmed and know that they are helpless before a minority with machine guns and poison gas. Mr. Halperin needs to go to the sources if he wants to pose as a historian of Mexico.

The rest of Mr. Halperin's review is only partially accurate. As to Senator Borah's resolution, it seems strange that the United States government, which has been intervening in favor of every disturbance aimed at religious freedom, now hesitates to uphold an American principle. There was a senate investigation in Wilson's day. If the senate has nothing to do with the matter why did it approve of a provision in the treaty with Russia insisting on religious liberty for Americans in that country? A little consistency would not hurt.

Bishop of Oklahoma City and Tulsa, Oklahoma City, Okla. FRANCIS C. KELLEY.

[Readers of The Christian Century will understand that Professor Halperin's estimate of the church-state situation in Mexico differs widely from that which has been presented editorially in these pages. The editors gave space to his review, as they do now to Bishop Kelley's criticism of it, because it is not their policy to close the door upon all opinions but their own. The policy of the church in Mexico and the proposed senate inquiry into the policy of the Mexican government to the church are controversial questions. Readers will ask themselves, and can answer for themselves, two questions suggested by Bishop Kelley's letter: Can the attitude of the church toward social and economic progress in the past and toward the government now be determined with complete finality by the letters of the apostolic delegate and the orders of the Holy See, or must the whole course of events also be taken into account? Does insistence upon a provision for religious liberty for Americans in Russia demand, in the interest of consistency, intervention to defend the religious liberty of Mexicans in Mexico? THE EDITORS.]

Love Suffereth Long

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I am sending in my renewal, not because I am in love with The Christian Century but because a number of my pastors read it and I feel I must keep up with what they are reading that I may be able the better to help them. Personally I do not like the attitude of the paper. It is too negative, attacking, attacking all the while, not only evil but sometimes even those things in our Christian faith that are very dear to some of us. I wish you would develop a more constructive attitude and give us something to strengthen our faith and zeal in the Christian enterprise. But I will stay with you another year and read every issue hoping that your paper may gradually improve until it is worthy to carry the name "Christian" in its title.

Methodist District, Port Huron, Mich. FRANK M. FIELD, Superintendent.

Peace Sentiment in Small Colleges

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The results of the recent Literary Digest college peace poll were indicative of the strong peace sentiment that is prevalent in the minds of college students throughout the nation. The 118 colleges and universities that participated in this official balloting were for the major part state institutions or large private institutions. One type of college was noticeably omitted—the smaller denominational school or Christian college.

What is the prevailing peace sentiment in these schools? Such was the question that the peace committee of the Young People's Christian association of Chapman college in Los Angeles sought to answer. The committee prepared ballots containing the identical questions found in the original Digest ballot and circulated these through the student body. A comparative percentage summary of the votes of Chapman college and the collegiate results of the nation as a whole shows that:

64 per cent of Chapman students believe that the United States could stay out of another great war, as compared with 69 per cent of the United States totals.

55 per cent of Chapman students will bear arms in a defensive war, as compared with 84 per cent.

9 per cent of Chapman students will bear arms for the United States in the invasion of the borders of another country, as compared with 18 per cent.

16 per cent of Chapman students believe an American navy and air force second to none is a sound method of insuring us against being drawn into another great war, as compared with 37 per cent.

98 per cent of Chapman students advocate government control of armament and munition industries, as compared with 91 per cent.

85 per cent of Chapman students advocated universal conscription of all resources of capital and labor in order to control all profits in time of war, as compared with 82 per cent.

84 per cent of Chapman students voted for adherence to the League of Nations as compared with 49 per cent.

The peace committee does not offer these figures as representing the attitude of all the smaller denominational schools but they do feel that they are indicative of the general trend as being more definitely inclined toward peace than the colleges included in the official Digest poll.

Los Angeles, California. BERT WILLIAMS.

Suppressing Dissent

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Shaw's satirical play, "Androcles and the Lion," was presented at the University of Illinois, Friday and Saturday evenings. I presume the play may have seemed rather shocking to some, but it carries several implications which are even more pertinent today than they were when the play was written. There is a very close parallel between Nero's persecution of the Christians and the persecution of the communists by the nazis. The Christians believed the world was so bad that it was impossible to build a good world by the slow process of individual regeneration. They expected a speedy return of Christ and the sudden destruction of all his enemies by a supernatural process, and they would be raised from the dead and take part in the perfect kingdom to be established. The communists believe that the capitalist system is so evil that it must be destroyed and that any sort of violence is justifiable to that end. The ideals of communism are closely parallel to the practices of the earliest Christians in Jerusalem.

The important lesson for our time lies in what has followed during the centuries since. Nero failed to suppress Christianity and not so very long after Christians gained ascendancy and built a hierarchy which was, at times, almost as corrupt as that of Nero and which persecuted dissenters even more barbarously than Nero had persecuted the Christians. The church failed to suppress dissent as Nero had failed to suppress Christianity, but today Catholics and Protestants live together in mutual tolerance.

The lesson important for us is that the nazis will fail in their attempt to suppress communism by violence and we shall fail if we attempt to suppress it by denying a free discussion. If capitalists are wise they will not follow the methods of Nero or of the church of the middle ages. Instead, they will abolish the worst excesses of capitalism by preventing the fleecing of "lambs" on the stock market, by increasing wages and shortening hours to increase buying power, by increasing production and selling at moderate prices instead of charging "all the traffic will bear," and by lowering exorbitant salaries and bonuses paid to a few officials, and distributing the money among other employes. By such methods the capitalistic system might be saved without destroying that personal initiative which is so important in a democracy.

Urbana, Ill. WILLIAM A. NOYES.

Art as a Cure for Lynching

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Your editorial "Lynching as a Japanese Sculptor Sees It," in your issue of February 13, raises a question of deep and far-reaching significance—the mission of art in social reform. The proposal to display an art exhibition on lynching in New York city and other parts of the country with pragmatic purpose has stirred widespread newspaper comment and commotion.

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The function of art is to reveal and portray the beautiful. A great poet has said, "Beauty is truth; truth is beauty." The faithful depicting of the body of a Negro lynched and burned at the stake fills the mind with ghastly horror instead of pleasurable emotions associated with works of art. But even such a ghastly spectacle, horrible for Christian eyes to gaze upon, may possess the beauty of truth, albeit we are too intimately involved in the ugly incidents to discern it.

"Joy from that in type we borrow,
Which in life gives naught but sorrow."

The same spectacle which thrills individuals of one race, or place, or time with disgust and horror may fill another with joy and satisfaction. The bloodthirsty lynchers who dance around the funeral pyre derive ghoulish delight from the human body flinching under the crackling flames as the sickened smoke fills the midnight sky with dismal glare. The same scene would fill a humane heart with groanings and pity too deep for utterance. The woes and wailings of the captive fill the captors with delirium of delight. The cross "on which the Prince of Glory died" has been transformed into a symbol, not merely of Christian beauty, but sublimity.

Art must portray its own lesson. It cannot be impressed by preaching or sermonizing. It holds up the mirror to nature. There is a sort of homeopathic therapeutics by which the disease suggests its own remedy. Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, upon which those who had suffered from its poisonous fangs had only to look and be healed. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" did as much as any single agency toward overthrowing American slavery. The American people had only to look upon Eliza leaping on blocks of ice to escape the gnaw of the hungry bloodhounds or upon Uncle Tom dying beneath the blows inflicted by the whip of Simon Legree; and slavery was forever doomed.

Lynching and burning at the stake of human bodies, alive or dead, is an American institution. May it not be reserved for Isamu Noguchi, an unknown Japanese artist, remote in race, religion and culture, to shame the nation out of its besetting sin, through the ministry of art?

Howard University, Washington, D. C. KELLY MILLER.

Student L.I.D. and the United States

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: There is one statement in Mr. Kirby Page's article, "A Christian Revolution," that the Student L.I.D. wishes to correct. He declares "that the Student League for Industrial Democracy has likewise refused to enter into a united front with the National Student League which is dominated by communists."

At their Christmas convention in 1933, the Student L.I.D. offered to the N.S.L. a national pact calling for joint action between our two organizations on the issuance of retrenchment, academic freedom, racial discrimination. Under that pact our two organizations have worked together harmoniously. At our Christmas convention at Northwestern university in 1934, the pact was renewed.

New York City. JOSEPH P. LASH, National Secretary.

Mexico and Communism

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In your columns you have had first and last a good deal to say about the present religious condition of Mexico. For a number of years I have lived close to Mexico, have discussed the cause of the revolution with men who ought to know and have endeavored to find out to what end the people struggle. To be sure, it is the claim of the revolutionists that the church allied itself closely with wealth, with the schemes of Diaz, that the church held properties of enormous value, that the priesthood was foreign—not of their people, mostly Spanish. It is plain that something must be done to relieve the people, and that sooner or later they would find themselves in what appeared to be a major religious war.

But that Mexico should go anti-religious, that it should turn to communism, is a bit beyond my imagination. The Mexican is known to be a very religious sort of being. It seems to me that some very careful examination should be made into conditions in that country south of us, and out of that we should speak. It now appears that most of the protest has its origin in the eastern part of our country, mostly among people to whom certain reports have come, men who have, we fear, yielded more or less to the campaign of a group of propagandists. We are inclined to think that most of this criticism of the Mexican government is with scant knowledge of the real facts.

Littlefield, Tex. J. W. HENDRIX.

The Question Box

What is the basis in modern thought for the belief in individual conscious life after physical death? Is there a sound basis for assured belief? J. H. F., Berea, Kentucky.

THERE is no theme regarding which intelligent people need to be more modest and reticent than that of the future life. Too frequently it has been clouded by conflict and dogmatic statements by those who ought to know that the last word has not yet been spoken regarding it.

Early peoples differed widely in their beliefs concerning the future. The Chinese, who professed no doctrine of a life to come, yet paid homage to their ancestors as if they were still existent. The Greeks believed that the most honored of their race survived in a life of happiness in the blessed islands of the west. The Hindus and the Buddhists hold to the belief in transmigration, in which the soul passes from life to life in various forms until the demands of the "wheel of life" are satisfied and release into Nirvana is secured. The Semitic nations, including the Hebrews, believed that the soul at death passed into Sheol, where consciousness gradually faded out. This is the view expressed in the Old Testament in all except the latest portions.

The Persians were among the first to formulate a doctrine of the future life, and a section of the Jews, either by contact with them, or independently, held to the same doctrine. Jesus was a firm believer in the life to come, although in his thought eternal life consisted less in survival of death than in a quality of being which made death an incident of no significance. In that faith his followers have found assurance through the centuries, even though many of them, including some of the writers of the New Testament, carried figures of speech to an extreme in the attempt to organize a pattern of the future. As a matter of fact the program of the future life has never been issued; and if it had been, we have no wit to understand it.

For the idea of the resurrection of the physical body the modern mind has little use. For that reason many thoughtful people frankly confess their skepticism regarding human survival of death. Others are indifferent to the matter, content to allow the future to take care of itself. "One world at a time" is their creed. Science has no assured testimony on the subject. Many scientists of repute are firm believers in the Christian doctrine of the life to come. Others are completely negative in their attitude. Spiritism has no convincing evidence to offer, although many interesting facts have been disclosed by psychic research.

Meantime the believer in the ideals of Jesus faces the facts of experience calmly and unafraid. If he should reach the conjecture that death is the end, he would have no cause for protest. It is the Father's world, and all things work together for good to those who love him. But he holds to an ampler confidence than this. If he should surmise that the only immortality is that of continuing influence or of racial perpetuity, he would not rebel. Yet these hopes leave him still unsatisfied.

In the last issue he comes back and ties up to his trust in the Master as the great Expert in the realm of life and death; to his conviction that although there is much waste material in the human race which seems incapable of achieving immortality, yet there are vast numbers of worthful souls whose departure into nothingness would be a loss too great to be contemplated in a moral universe; and that the faith of the great spirits who have passed this way that the best is yet to be, a faith shared and certified by our Lord, will not prove frustrate.

H. L. W.

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NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

New York Relief Under Criticism

Clergymen Defend the Administration—Methodists Attack Fascism—Hearst Is Rebuked

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, April 6.—The administration of relief in this city has been under heavy fire this past week. The aldermen's inquiry has been endeavoring to bring out every possible fact adverse to the relief administration. The economic insignificance of some of the relief projects has been played up as if work relief ought to be judged solely from the standpoint of economics and not as a method intended to save the self-respect of the recipients. Moreover the impression has been given that the administrators of this relief have been paid very high salaries, whereas most of them have been receiving less than they might have secured in other work. Also it has been suggested that the men and women engaged in the administration of our relief program are chosen from the ranks of the unemployed and should be content with a mere pittance, whereas they have been chosen primarily for their fitness to do the work demanded. About 50 well known social workers have made a vigorous protest against the insinuations and general unfairness of this investigation. The city affairs committee, which did so much to arouse the public against the old Walker regime, lashed out yesterday against the whole investigation as a political effort designed to discredit the present city administration. This spirited statement was signed by John Haynes Holmes, Francis J. McConnell, Stephen S. Wise and Frederick L. Guggenheimer.

* * *

Commercialization of Easter Attacked by Ministers

The Castle Heights Methodist church of White Plains, through its social action committee, has just issued a report on our Easter customs which brands many of them as pagan. According to this report, "the splendor of clothes adds nothing to the atmosphere of reverence which should fill our churches as we praise the living Christ." Another custom, even less excusable, is "the exchange of greeting cards, telegrams and gifts, forced upon us by those who profit by it." The committee also believes that some substitute for exchanging candy and Easter eggs should be found which would really teach the Easter lesson to children.

* * *

Broadside Against Fascism Issued by Methodists

The Methodist federation for social service which has been vigilant in attacking fascist developments in the United States has more to say on this subject this week. A report issued by the secretaries of this organization pays its respects to Father Coughlin as a potential fascist, charging that his office workers get less than a living wage and that his new buildings have been built by non-union labor. Moreover, says the report, "the sort of unions he has in mind are shop committees or councils—but controlled and regulated by the state. This practice in Italy and Germany has delivered labor bound and gagged into the hands of the employer." Huey Long also is assailed on the ground that he talks as if he were for labor but belies all this by his actions in his own state. The report further declares that Coughlin, Long and Johnson are "contestants for leadership of the unawakened masses" still trying to maintain an economic system which is "unethical, unchristian and anti-social."

* * *

No More Texts for Hearst If LAWF Has Its Way

It has long been the custom of our Hearst papers to publish texts suggested by clergymen. Each day a text appears prominently displayed and with it the name of the clergyman suggesting it. Since Mr. Hearst started his present campaign against liberalism in our colleges and universities there has been a growing feeling in religious circles that clergymen who believe in old-time American principles ought not to cooperate with the Hearst newspapers in their attack upon time-honored American liberties. Now the American league against war and fascism has requested our local clergy not to submit such daily scriptural texts and to encourage their congregations not to buy or read Hearst papers. Also the league has requested that sermons be preached tomorrow (April 7) against war and the proposed naval maneuvers in the Pacific.

* * *

To Hold Union Services During Holy Week

Plans are practically complete for the union holy week services. The management of the Palace theater is cooperating again this year so that this theater can be used for these popular noonday meetings, and the National broadcasting company will put them on the air. Among the speakers for these special services will be J. V. Moldenhawer, Charles K. Gilbert and Samuel Trexler.

* * *

Sir Francis Younghusband To Visit America

Sir Francis Younghusband, distinguished English explorer and government administrator, is expected to arrive here in about two weeks. He comes in the interest of the British national council, a group which is organizing the second international congress of the world fellowship of faiths which is scheduled to meet in London next year.

* * *

Dr. Fosdick, Recuperating, To Preach Again in Fall

Our readers will be relieved to know that Harry Emerson Fosdick is well on his way to recovery from his recent operation. He expects to resume his preaching at the Riverside church and over the radio next fall.

EDMUND B. CHAFFEE.

Church Finds Machen Guilty

Suspended for Insubordination on Six Counts—May Appeal—Quakers Protest War Maneuvers

(Correspondence from Philadelphia)

PHILADELPHIA, April 2.—J. Gresham Machen, of Westminster seminary, Philadelphia, president of the Independent board for Presbyterian foreign missions, has been found guilty of defying ecclesiastical authority, by the special judicial commission of the presbytery of New Brunswick, and has been suspended from the Presbyterian ministry; with the recommendation, however, that the execution of the sentence be deferred until he has exhausted the final church court of appeal. Dr. Machen had defied the mandate of the general assembly, ordering him to resign from the Independent board for Presbyterian foreign missions. The charges were: "Disapproval, defiance, and acts contrary to the government and discipline of the church; failure to maintain the peace of the church; refusal to subject himself to his brethren in the Lord; violation of his ordination vows; breach of his lawful promises; and contempt and rebellion against his superiors in the church."

* * *

Vote of the Commission Is Unanimous

Unanimous in their decision, the members of the commission were: Cordie J. Culp, moderator, Edward Allen Morris, secretary, John E. Kuizenga of Princeton seminary, and elders William A. Cooley, John H. Harkinson and Henry B. Kummel. They also emphatically disapproved of "the unethical conduct of the defendant in issuing to the press during the progress of the trial statements which not only reflected upon the integrity of the court, but the truth of which had been by no means established. Such conduct in a civil court could only have resulted in punishment for contempt."

* * *

Defense Counsel to File Notice of Appeal

According to H. McAllister Griffiths, defense counsel, notice of appeal will be filed within ten days and actual appeal within 30 days with the synod of New Jersey, which convenes at Atlantic City in October. Then, if the synod upholds the commission, appeal may be made to the general assembly in May, 1936.

* * *

Trial Was "A Farce," Says Dr. Machen

"The special judicial commission of the presbytery of New Brunswick has simply condemned me without giving me a hearing," Dr. Machen protested after the announcement of the decision. "I am condemned for failing to obey a lawful order; but when my counsel offered to prove that the order that I had disobeyed was not

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lawful but unlawful the court refused to hear a word of argument. I am condemned for making false assertions about the modernism of the official board of foreign missions, but when my counsel offered to prove that those assertions were true the court would not hear a word of the evidence that we were perfectly ready to produce. It is not too much to say that a trial conducted in that fashion is nothing but a farce. . . ."

* * *

Modernism vs. Fundamentalism, Is That the Issue?

"At bottom the issue in this case," he insisted, "is the issue between two irreconcilable adversaries—modernism and the Christian religion. The constitution of the church is Christian, but the machinery of the church is dominated by modernism and its allies. It is typical of the condition of the church that the moderator of this commission is a signer of the modernist document commonly called the Auburn affirmation, which casts despite upon the holiest verities of the Christian religion; and that the whole commission, led by Professor Kuizenga, debarred all reference to that modernist document. The gist of the case is that I am ordered by the general assembly to support the modernist propaganda which is being furthered by the official board of foreign missions, and that, being a Christian man, I cannot do so. The customary attempt is being made to obscure the issue, by representing it as merely administrative and not doctrinal, but I think real Christian people and even the general public are being less and less deceived by such evasions."

* * *

New Brunswick Trial Protested By Philadelphia Presbytery

By a vote of 66 to 32 the Philadelphia presbytery has memorialized the synod of New Jersey with a protest against the New Brunswick presbytery and a claim of jurisdiction over Dr. Machen. This memorial was presented by Oswald T. Allis, of Westminster seminary, and will be read before the New Brunswick presbytery at their next meeting and acted upon in October by the synod.

* * *

Quakers Protest Against War Maneuvers

Upon the visit of Secretary of War Dern, Reyburn plaza appeared as an army mobilization camp for the 17th birthday of the Philadelphia ordnance district, in a military preparedness display with tanks, artillery, armored and radio-equipped motor cars, radio equipment, anti-aircraft guns, and other ordnance required to move an army. In protest against that peacetime exhibit of wartime preparedness, the Friends yearly meeting two days later held there their peace demonstration.

* * *

Youth Conference Discusses Peace

At the Philadelphia regional youth conference nearly 1,000 delegates from Philadelphia, Delaware, Chester, Bucks and Montgomery counties and from South Jersey heard Martin L. Harvey, president of the Christian youth council of North America, make an effective plea for peace. Walter W. Felton, of Easton, has arranged for the Northamption county youth conference at Nazareth, April 12, 13.

CHARLES DANIEL BRODHEAD.

Mullenbach, Of Labor Board, Dies

Widely Known As Arbitrator—Eight Chicago Districts Oust the Saloons

(Correspondence from Chicago)

CHICAGO, April 8.—A heart, warm and generous, that never faltered at a task requiring courage and intelligence was stilled by a physical ailment on Wednesday, April 3, and James Mullenbach, ill since last Thanksgiving, went to his rest. The modesty and friendliness of the man was so great that one hardly realized his stature; but he was one of the few great men of our city. Ordained to the Christian ministry, he left the pulpit to carry his ideals into the areas of sharpest conflict where he sought to establish peace, not on the basis of any weak sentimentalism, but upon the secure foundation of social justice. He held the respect and confidence of men on both sides when he served as mediator in industrial disputes. For more than 20 years Mr. Mullenbach was chairman of the labor arbitration board of Hart, Schaffner & Marx, clothing manufacturers, and of the amalgamated clothing workers of America. He was a member of President Roosevelt's oil, steel and textile labor relations boards, and was generally regarded as the President's best known and appreciated arbitrator of labor disputes. But Mr. Mullenbach also rendered a wide range of other services. He was superintendent of the municipal lodging house from 1904 to 1909; assistant superintendent of the united charities from 1909 to 1912; superintendent of the Cook county Oak Forest institutions from 1912 to 1914. Mayor Dever appointed him to the board of education and he was one of the most intelligent and courageous members of that body in troublous times; he was long active in settlement work and for some time a resident of Chicago commons. For the past several years he had been lecturer on social and industrial relations in the Chicago theological seminary. He leaves a gap in the ranks which no one can fill.

* * *

Professor Holt Pays Tribute To Mullenbach

The funeral service was conducted in Graham Taylor hall, the Chicago theological seminary, on Friday, April 5. President Albert W. Palmer read the scripture, Robert W. Gammon of the Congregational board offered prayer, and Douglas Horton of Hyde Park United church pronounced the benediction. The address was given by Prof. Arthur E. Holt, who had been closely associated with Mr. Mullenbach. He paid tribute to his lasting influence as teacher, friend of good causes, and preacher.

* * *

Youth Examines Status Quo; Professor "Defends" It

About 1,200 Baptist young people from all over the state met in the high school at Danville, Ill., March 30-31, for their annual youth's congress. A great change has come over Baptist young people's conventions within my memory, and this one was as nearly what it seems such a gathering

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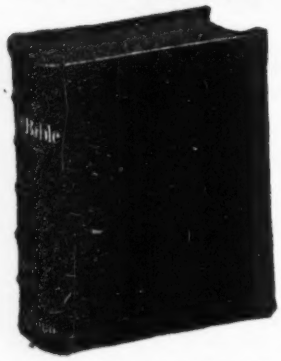

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ought to be as any that I have attended. There was a minimum of resolutions and a maximum of honest study and discussion of urgent problems. And there was no beating of denominational drums. "With Christ for world peace" was the theme of the congress, and the sections were organized about such subjects as war, political responsibility, the economic situation, marriage and education. It was my duty to lead the conference on the economic situation, and I found myself in the unanticipated position of being the (somewhat lukewarm, I am afraid) defender of the status quo. The young people were determined to judge the present order and any proposals for change in the light of Christian principles, and such principles provide a rather severe test.

* * *

Mayor Kelly Is Voted In; Saloons Are Voted Out

Edward J. Kelly, who until his recent election was boss Pat Nash's personal appointee as successor to the late A. J. Cermak, was elected mayor of Chicago on Tuesday, April 2, by the largest majority and with the least enthusiasm of any mayor this city has ever had. There was simply no opposition although two other names were on the ballot. The most significant event in the election was not the choice of a mayor, but the fact that out of eleven precincts in which there was voting on local option, eight threw out the saloons. The people are becoming very sick of these loathsome and law-breaking institutions, and while organized campaigns against them have scarcely begun a strong tide of resentment is rising.

* * *

Ministers Protest Against Interference in Mexico

Chicago ministers, at their monthly union meeting, March 25, expressed the view that, as far as Mexico is concerned, we should mind our own business. A resolution passed at that meeting said in part:

"We hereby resolve that we protest the message passed by the Illinois state legislature calling for an investigation by the United States into the domestic affairs of Mexico, and that we send a copy of this resolution to the governor of Illinois; and hereby further resolve that we send a message to the secretary of state of the United States affirming our support of a policy of strict non-intervention in the religious affairs of the republic of Mexico.

The ministers also passed a resolution protesting the proposed naval maneuvers in far eastern waters.

* * *

And So Forth

Mrs. G. L. Gunsaulus, widow of the late Frank W. Gunsaulus, for many years pastor of Central church and a notable pulpit figure, died at the advanced age of 81, on April 1.

Frank Lincoln Moore, for the past nine years secretary of the western division of the Congregational church extension boards, and prior to that pastor and denominational executive for many years, died a week ago almost on the eve of his planned retirement from office.

On April 5-6 a two-day midwest conference on world peace was held at Levere temple, Northwestern university, under the sponsorship of the Carnegie endowment for international peace. Representatives of the international relations clubs were present from about a score of Illinois colleges.

The high mogul of "red-hunters," Representative Hamilton Fish, is to speak in Chicago on April 11, on the topic "Americanism is opposed to communism and socialism."

Dr. Ernest Fremont Tittle spoke powerfully on the topic "Can we abolish war?" at the Sunday evening club, on March 31.

CHARLES T. HOLMAN.

Will Honor Jane Addams

Women's League for Peace in Tribute to Chicagoan at Anniversary Meet

The 20th anniversary of the Women's international league for peace and freedom will be celebrated in this country on May 2 at Washington, D. C. Miss Jane Addams, who helped to found the organization and is now its honorary international president, will be the central figure of the observance. Mrs. Harold L. Ickes is chairman of the committee on arrangements.

The Women's international league, of which Mrs. Hannah C. Hull of Swarthmore, Pa., is president, is inviting leaders in every field of activity to gather in Washington to honor Miss Addams and the women who shared in the founding of the oldest existing women's peace organization in America. Forty-six distinguished women of this country sailed with Miss Addams across a war-mined sea to The Hague in 1915. The majority of them expect to come to the capital city for their first reunion since that historic occasion.

Mrs. Ickes announces that plans for the Washington observance include also a demonstration by the youth sections of the league honoring the achievements of the founders and forecasting future gains, and an anniversary dinner in honor of Miss Addams at which tributes to her work for peace will be paid by outstanding men and women. Her contribution to the peace cause was given recognition when she was awarded the Nobel peace prize in 1932.

Mrs. Mabel Vernon of Washington, D. C., is chairman of the committee planning the anniversary observance by all national sections.

During the 20 years of its existence the Women's international league has organized throughout the world and now has national sections in 25 countries.

W.C.T.U. Protests Butler Moderationist Proposal

The W.C.T.U. leaders have come out in criticism of the proposal of the ten years "education campaign" just announced by a group of prominent eastern opponents of prohibition and apologists for so-called moderate drinking of beverage alcohol, including such sponsors as Nicholas Murray Butler and John D. Rockefeller, jr. "Instead of being a plan 'to blaze an entirely new trail toward solution of the liquor traffic,' as the moderationists aver, their proposal would inevitably serve to bring back on a vaster scale all the old evils involved in the liquor problem in pre-prohibition years." Mrs. Ida B. Wise Smith, W.C.T.U. president, declares that nationwide acceptance and adoption of the modernationists' attitude would "menacingly expand, by tens of thousands, the number of drink addicts in America."

Britain Ponders German Threat

India Bill Has Its Sponsors Guessing—Canada's New Governor General —Bach Is Honored

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, March 26.—It is slowly coming home to our people that we shall not understand Germany till we have traveled in thought to Berlin by way of America, the Pacific, the far east and Russia. Last evening Sir Frederick Whyte took the listeners on the radio by this way. We are tempted to think of western Europe as a unit in itself; but Germany is not thinking of France or Italy or Britain only, but of Russia, and Russia faces both ways, east and west. In this country the fascists are indignant at the very idea that Britain or France should contemplate common action with Russia. Germany clearly will not think of Russia as a friendly power. In the far east Russia has shown of late a disposition to come to terms with Japan. It is alarmed at any prospect of war in the east and it thinks much of the west. If Germany arms against Russia, Russia also will arm.

Sir John Simon went to Berlin with the good will of all parties who desperately long that he may be a bridge-builder. Mr. Lansbury spoke with deep feeling in parliament; he is not ashamed to speak as a Christian man, and the essence of his plea was the need for a new mind. We must disarm within our own souls; we must be born again.

Sir Herbert Samuel, a statesman who is also a philosopher, spoke with gravity upon the issues before Europe and the world raised by the German order of conscription. At the moment it is hard to see how we can escape from another race of armaments. And in spite of Mussolini's belief in peace based on bayonets, there is no ground for thinking that bayonets will be used for this purpose. Bayonets are commonly used in other ways.

* * *

Bach Is Honored After 250 Years

It is 50 years since a few enthusiasts formed the Bach society. They gave the St. Matthew passion music and the mass in B minor. Those must have been great days for the singers who had with them in rehearsals Jenny Lind, the greatest of all singers. The singers were said to be more remarkable for their musical knowledge than for their voices. The general public thought Bach a musician only for the expert. But all this has been changed. Today the Bach evening at the promenade concerts is the most popular of all. Every choral society that is a choral society indeed does the St. Matthew passion. There is some danger in this popularity. It may lead to a reaction, as we have been reminded; unless we are worthy of Bach and penetrate into the spirit of the man, we shall certainly cheapen him and lose him. Bach was a man troubled about many things, but in his music he thought chiefly of God, his Redeemer. He put "J. J." on his scores and by this he meant "Jesu juva," "Jesus help me"; and only a people ready to think with him and to adore with him, will be able to keep him.

The Bach choir fittingly observed this 250th anniversary. I was at one of their concerts and listened to the choir with great delight.

It is not out of order to call attention to the honor done to Bach in these days. When we are called to book as degenerate heirs of our noble fathers, we can say that we know and love Bach, as they did not.

* * *

India, the Princes, and Lord Hugh Cecil

Our thoughts have been so occupied with European affairs this week that we have had little else in mind, not even India. But the attitude of the India princes to the bill still causes a little uneasiness to its friends and much delight to its enemies. Some think that the princes are only bargaining, but those who are fighting the bill, clause by clause, make it part of their case that these princes do not want the wretched thing. Lord Hugh Cecil, who can always fill the house, recommended in a witty speech that the bill should be given a third reading and then the Indians generally, princes and other legislators, should be asked whether or not they really want it. If not, the bill should be left where it was. What was the use, he argued, of an act which was passed for the sake of India when those who speak for India did not want it? The real difficulty is to discover what the mind of the princes really is, and whether the assembly would prefer things as they are to things as they would be under the India bill. These seem to be the only practical alternatives now and probably for some time to come. The government resisted Lord Hugh's suggestion.

* * *

The New Governor Of Canada

It is reported tonight (March 26) that Mr. John Buchan is to be governor of Canada. He has had a career as varied as it has been uniformly successful. I remember well how he came up to Brasenose, having already written a book, "Scholar Gypsies." His Oxford career was brilliant. At its close he entered journalism and afterwards was secretary to Milner in Africa—one of Milner's "nursery." Since that time he has written some fine novels, histories, biographies, poems; he has been a busy publisher, a member of parliament, high commissioner of the Scottish church. He was a son of the manse and has remained a loyal member and officer of the kirk; for many years he has been an elder, I think, of the Scottish church of St. Columba's in London. If he goes to Canada he will fill the office of governor with distinction and it will not be against him in that country that he is a faithful member of the kirk of his fathers.

* * *

And So Forth

The new archbishop of Westminster, Monsignor Hinsley, is an Englishman and a Yorkshireman. He is 70 years of age but reported to be an active and devoted servant of his church. Outside the Roman communion he is not well known. It is worthy of note that he has been actively engaged in Africa in the mission field.

"In public morals," writes Mr. Gerald Barry, "I claim that youth today can show a definite improvement upon youth of forty

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years ago. There is a growing distrust of the profit motive as the ruling factor of our lives. On all sides readiness to serve the community is a real and growing emotion."

It was reported that Miss Katherine Mayo was to be present at a meeting of the India defense league. She has written to say that it would be the height of presumption for an American, as for any foreigner, to assume any place among British subjects debating British national affairs.

Canon David Jenks died at Kelham last week. He was a great leader in all that concerned the work of the church overseas. But he was a many-sided scholar and gave a rich service to his church. He had been missioner to the Assyrian church, warder of Kelham, canon theologian of Leicester. We shall remember him as a saintly scholar, whose knowledge was freely given and whose friendly spirit went far beyond the boundaries of his own church.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

St. Louis Baptists Cooperate In Pre-Easter Program

The Baptist churches in St. Louis have for several years observed, sometime during the spring, what they call "Baptist city mission weeek." This year the week was extended into a month. On March 5, a Baptist dinner was served at the Third Baptist church with practically every church of the association represented. U. S. Randall, pastor of the West Park church, spoke on "Our field," and C. Oscar Johnson, of the Third church, spoke on "Our resources." On March 29, a rally was held at the Third church, at which time about 1,500 persons were present. A special chorus composed of 80 representatives from the choirs of nine of the colored Baptist churches of the city entertained the audience for the first half-hour. The speaker for the evening was J. Edgar Dillard, pastor of the South Side Baptist church, Birmingham, Alabama. The Baptist ministers conference voted to again cooperate in a simultaneous evangelistic campaign covering the period from March 17 to April 30. It is interesting to note that for some years the Baptists of St. Louis have made an annual net gain of about 1,000. There are 41 churches in the St. Louis association, with a membership of approximately 21,000.

Pope Is Preparing Encyclical On World Peace

Pope Pius is preparing an encyclical analyzing the political situation and renewing his plea for world peace. It will be issued in connection with the closing of the jubilee year on April 28. The pope's survey will be of a general character instead of strictly religious. It will pertain to the social, moral and religious interests of humanity at large.

Boston Rabbi on Holy Land Trip

Rabbi Harry Levi, who several years ago, after 16 years' service at Temple Israel, Boston, was elected rabbi for life, is now on leave of absence touring the Holy Land. Dr. Levi has been active in the work of the Greater Boston federation of churches, and has frequently exchanged pulpits with Protestant ministers. Temple Israel has become deservedly famous for paying its teachers at a higher rate than that of public school teachers.

Law Evaders Are Driven To Cover

Churches Are Busy With Anti-War Drives—Billy Sunday "Cracks Down"—20,000,000 Pacifists!

(Correspondence from Indianapolis)

INDIANAPOLIS, April 8.—Indianapolis police have been "cracking down" on gambling houses, alleged violators of the new liquor laws and traffic violators. Eighty-four persons were taken into custody over the weekend. Many were forced to make personal appearances before city courts and pay high fines for speeding, failing to stop at preferential streets or driving recklessly. Over 3,000 persons purchased drivers' licenses since the drive began. "Booking houses" have been raided, since many of the coupons from Dillinger-stolen bonds were traced through them.

* * *

Billy Sunday Excoriates Modern Sins

"Billly" Sunday was in town yesterday in the interest of the Winona Lake institutions, which are threatened with discontinuance unless financial aid is found. A group of Indianapolis ministers and laymen sponsored yesterday's rally at the First Baptist church. Sunday attacked the new dealers for copying Russian plans. He tore into America for going "loco" by trying to drink itself into sobriety, borrow itself into prosperity and have peace without justice. The age, he declared, is dying morally, and "going to hell so fast it is breaking the speed limits. We are living in a bankrupt age, and God will not let this nation go farther on the road to recovery until we get on our knees and catch up spiritually."

He attacked godless professors who mislead youth. "Young people," says he, "are not any worse than we were, only they have more ways of making fools of themselves. It is Saturday night in a gentile age and America needs to be taken off and have the hose turned on her. Communism and socialism are twins. The former has introduced the morals of the barnyard. Nudists are nuts; take them to Africa and let them run around with the baboons and the monkeys! Christ or chaos!"

* * *

Congregationalists to Organize Plebiscite on Peace and War

The institute for social action of the Indiana Congregational-Christian churches will hold a conference on peace and war this fall. This will anticipate a plebiscite, the first of its kind, to be sent to all members of the denomination. The institute also sent a telegram protesting the navy's proposed maneuvers in the Pacific, and passed a petition upholding the federal anti-lynching law. The latter was signed by 1,500 delegates to the meeting recently held in Huntington, Indiana.

* * *

"Zion Travelers," Negro Pageant, Reveals Musical Talent

The Negro pageant, "Zion travelers," was presented to Indianapolis people at Keith's theater last week. A chorus of more than 100 voices was assisted by select colored soloists. The drama is set around

the great struggle in the human heart against temptation, in which the tempters are two imps dressed in red, whose main task it is to entice various types of people off the straight and narrow path! Missionaries, gamblers, society belles and their beaux, sick travelers and a fighting soldier are typical characters who meet the imps along life's road. Rich voices, characteristic of the Negro, have a way of portraying the walk of the faithful in a unique manner. How true to life the whole allegory is! The production was sponsored by the Negro churches of Indianapolis. Things like this should be made available to more people. Here is native American music that should be accepted as an integral part of our Christian culture.

* * *

One-Sixth of World on Relief, Says Harry F. Ward

An alliance of essential workers and educated people who would refuse to cooperate in a war involving the United States is what is needed, said Harry F. Ward in a recent address at DePauw university. He estimated that 20 millions would be needed for such an anti-war alliance. "One-sixth of the population of the world," said Doctor Ward, "is now on poor relief. The present crop of students is 'unwanted,' and if they are to find a place they must seek an economic method that will supplant the failing capitalistic system." He warned that any war with Japan might resolve itself around such a high-sounding motto as "Christianity versus paganism," which would hide the real reason: to protect financial (Morgan) interests.

* * *

And So Forth

The theme at the last ministerial meeting was "Jesus Christ in the Life of Indianapolis," in which many local ministers shared their experiences on Christ, evangelism, cooperation, church school, pastor's class, home visitation, personal witnessing, revival, regular services and pastoral work.

A Catholic-Protestant committee is directing the program of publicity for holy week services to be held all over the city.

The church federation, with no funds for lobbying purposes, was able to halt the legalization of betting bills in the recent legislature. Let it be said, however, that the legislature this year was of a higher type than heretofore.

The prospects for Easter accessions look very bright in Indianapolis.

E. G. HOMRIGHAUSEN.

Chicago Sunday Evening Club Speakers

The Easter speaker (April 21) at the Chicago Sunday evening club will be Harold L. Bowman of First Presbyterian church, Chicago. Other speakers, with dates, are as follows: April 28, M. H. Lichliter; May 5, George A. Buttrick; May 12, Willard L. Sperry; May 19, Daniel Poling.

Annual Convocation at Yale Divinity School

The annual convocation of Yale divinity school will be held April 22-24. The Lyman Beecher lectures will be given by Walter Russell Bowie, on "The Renewing Gospel," an interpretation of the Christian message for the present day. The Kent Shaffer lectures on the life and teachings of Jesus will be given by C. Harold Dodd of the University of Manchester, England. Allan K. Chalmers of New York will give the alumni lecture, on "The strategy of Christian living." It is announced that President Dodds of Princeton will give this year's Dodge lectures on the responsibilities of citizenship. He will speak on "Modern problems of local government" in addresses to be given April 29 and on May 6 and 13.

Religious Editors to Meet in Washington

The annual meeting of the Editorial council of the religious press will be held at the Hotel Willard, Washington, D. C., April 23, 24. Among the speakers scheduled are: Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, William E. Gilroy, Dan B. Brummitt, Robert A. Ashworth, Harold E. Fey, William H. Leach and Willard E. Shelton.

Dr. Welch of Louisville Endorsed for Moderator

Charles W. Welch, of Fourth Avenue Presbyterian church, Louisville, has been endorsed by Louisville presbytery, and also by the synod of Kentucky, for the moderatorship of the general assembly which will meet in Cincinnati next month.

President Urged to Oppose "Gag" Legislation

Opposition to proposals "to restrict the civil and political liberties of the American people" was urged in a communication sent to President Roosevelt and members of the senate and house of representatives by 26 liberal leaders. "The solution of the economic and political problems confronting the country can be achieved," these leaders declared, "only by the utmost freedom of organization and propaganda by any and all groups without recourse to any suppression whatever. Suppression is the road to fascism." Among the signers of the statement were Paul H. Douglas, Bishop Paul

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Jones, H. E. Fosdick, Alexander Meiklejohn, Jerome Davis, Guy Emery Shipler and Samuel Hopkins Adams.

World's Churches Called to Prayer for Peace

An appeal to the Christian people of all nations to join in a world concert of prayer has been issued by the Federal council of churches, in collaboration with the Universal Christian council and the World Alliance for international friendship through the churches. Describing the present as an "ominous hour when the specter of war again haunts the world," the call urges the churches, beginning in holy week, to pray for peace in every service of public worship and to continue this practice "as long as the threat of war remains." The appeal for prayer is being made not only to the churches of America but also to all Protestant bodies of Europe and Asia.

Dr. Orchard Will Soon Be Ordained To Catholic Priesthood

Dr. William E. Orchard, former pastor of King's Weigh House, London, announces that the requisite papers for his conditional ordination as a Roman Catholic priest have been received in London. The date of the ceremony has not been definitely fixed.

Glasgow Startled By Unemployed

Government Ponders Socialistic Proposals—Dean Curtis of Edinburgh Goes to New College

(Correspondence from Scotland)

WHITLEY BAY, March 29.—Glasgow had the excitement of a visit from 3,000 hunger marchers and of a great unemployed demonstration at the weekend. The Sunday parade to Glasgow green found 40,000 men, women and children in line. Mothers with babes in arms marched side by side with elderly matrons, and many schoolboys were glad to have a place beside their fathers and grandfathers. The divisions were headed by pipe and flute bands, and by fife and drum corps. Red was of course the predominant color. Communists wore shirts of that hue, and the better dressed among the demonstrators sported a red handkerchief or rosette. And there were of course many red banners. One small contingent associated with a "social credit" movement were dressed in green. It took well over an hour for the long procession to pass St. Enoch square, marching four abreast. There was raucous singing and shouting by some of the marchers, and frequent invitations to the people on the curb to join the parade, but no disorder whatsoever. Arrived at the green, the crowd was harangued by communist leaders and independent labor party speakers from two platforms, until the approach of darkness caused the contingents to re-form and march away.

The hunger marchers were assigned sleeping quarters in the city hall, and the next day were offered free use of the municipal baths in various parts of the city—an invitation which many of them accepted. On the Monday afternoon they marched to the city chambers where their leaders demanded of the lord provost (mayor) the complete withdrawal of the unemployment act, and protested against any legislation which would continue the Means test. Their leaders rejected anything in the way of "slave camps," maintained that there was sufficient essential work waiting to be done, and proposed that the government should undertake it, paying the workers the recognized trade union rates. Kelvin hall was granted to the marchers for a mass meeting in the evening, after which they traveled home by train and bus to their various destinations.

It is an amazing fact that this massed invasion of the downtown of a great depressed city like Glasgow by hordes of the unfortunate and the discontented did not result in any bloodshed or disorder. There was not a single arrest. We have to thank a good-humored and competent police

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force, and the traditional British belief in the right of public assembly and free speech —that "steam-blowing" is vital to true democracy. And even more important was the fact that the injustices of the new unemployment act, which had been the original cause for organizing the demonstration, had been removed by the prompt and sympathetic action of the government long ago.

* * *

Parliament Rejects Municipal Bank

The scheme for a municipal bank in Glasgow (see correspondence in issue of October 24), which has been fought tooth and nail for six months, has now been turned down by parliament. When the socialist town councilors organized the bank a group of citizens managed to secure an interdict against the city chambers being used for this purpose. The city council then drew up a private bill, not only authorizing the bank, but giving the city power to build its own bus bodies as well. Mr. Neil Maclean, labor M.P. for Govan, delivered the speech of his life in favor of the bill, but it found no parliamentary support outside the socialist party. Members generally expressed the view that the great function of banks was to increase thrift by giving absolute protection to investors. A municipal bank was less safe because its funds were put into tramways, public buildings, sewers, etc., which were very difficult to realize. If a revolutionary party got into power and proposed unsound finance the depositors would get alarmed and clamor for their deposits. From what source would a municipal bank be able to meet such an emergency? Furthermore, in this era of low interest rates, the city could borrow more cheaply under the existing system than by organizing a bank of its own.

* * *

Municipal Bus System Is "Bad Socialism"

As for the bus bodies, it was argued that the venture must be uneconomic because the unit of construction was not sufficiently large. The bus-building scheme was characterized as bad socialism in that it created increased competition instead of eliminating it. The division was taken amid some excitement, and resulted in a vote of 190 to 52 against a second reading of the bill. The disappointed sponsors of the measure announce that they will reintroduce it next year, when they are confident there will be a different party in power.

* * *

Council Would Institute "Socialistic Regime"

Meantime the town council is doing what it can to institute what it considers a true socialist regime. It has voted to establish a municipal printing works for the supply of account books, registers, stationery, exercise books, and the like, and to undertake all printing, bookbinding, and blueprint work, not only for the city administration in all its departments, but also for the public schools and for the city libraries. The moderates, in opposing the scheme, contended that such a printing plant would cost at least £250,000, and that even with a large organization it would be unable to do such rush work as is required in the preparation of the valuation roll, in which several firms have to be employed under the present contracting system. The council has also remitted to a committee to consider the advisability of setting up the necessary organization for a municipal bread supply. This is a more controversial matter, as it would make the city a competitor with the cooperative movement, which is a purely working-class, non-profit-making chain of factories and stores for selling the necessities of life at cost price to the people. Besides, there are enough bakeries in Glasgow alone to supply bread to the whole of the west of Scotland.

* * *

Town Council Refuses Private Gas Offer

The council has refused to accept the offer of a prominent Lanarkshire firm to supply the city with coke-oven gas at a price much lower than the city can produce gas in its own municipal plant. The acceptance of the offer was recommended by the government report on the industrial distress in Scotland, as furnishing the twin advantages of cheaper gas for homes and factories in Glasgow, and of promising a considerable stimulus to the pig iron industry in the west of Scotland. But the proposition was rejected by a very close vote. The labor majority wished to "safeguard the principle of public ownership." They argued that the municipal gas works would have to pay off more men than the coke-oven would absorb into employment, and "it is not necessary for the corporation of Glasgow to make martyrs of their own

Preach Peace!

With the nations turning again toward war, what are the churches doing to indoctrinate their millions of members—men, women and children—with the Christian ideal of peace and brotherhood? It is true, countless conferences have "declared for peace," but what does the rank and file of church membership know of these "pronouncements"?

Are the preachers preaching peace?

• • •

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* * *

Two Important Appointments

Prof. W. A. Curtis, dean of the divinity faculty of Edinburgh university and president of the General Presbyterian alliance, has been appointed principal of the New College, Edinburgh, in succession to Principal Martin, retired. Dr. A. J. Maclean, bishop of Moray, Ross and Caithness, a writer of works of permanent value on the Syriac language, a contributor to the Encyclopedia Britannica and to the various Hastings dictionaries, a man largely responsible for the production of the Scottish prayer book of 1929, has been appointed primus of the Scottish Episcopal church. In spite of his 77 years, he is an extremely vigorous personality, as well as a man of charm and of modest demeanor.

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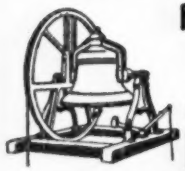
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Outlook for Methodist Unity Hopeful

Last month at Louisville, Ky., a joint meeting was held of the commissions on interdenominational relations of the Methodist Episcopal church, the Methodist Episcopal church, south, and the Methodist Protestant church, to consider the question of the union of the three bodies. Bishop W. F. McDowell, who is a member of the joint commission, reports that "we all feel very hopeful. There is in the three bodies a manifest and clear determination to go through to the end of this endeavor."

Plans Expansion of Peace Movies

Dr. Francis S. Onderdonk, the Quaker architect who was until recently on the faculty of the college of architecture of the University of Michigan, is obtaining such a remarkable response to his efforts to preach the gospel through motion pictures that plans now under consideration make it seem likely that the films which he has collected will be shown in every part of the country during the coming summer. Dr. Onderdonk has worked out a peace caravan which makes it possible to show talking movies dealing with the war threat in the open air, as well as indoors. He uses films from the libraries of the standard producing firms, including the new talkie entitled, "The Next War," films dealing with the munitions racket, a film on the League of Nations, another on the New York peace parade, and another on a Zeppelin raid on London. At the same time he supplies local peace groups with information concerning current films with a peace message, such as the now-showing "Man Who Reclaimed His Head," "First World War," "President Vanishes," and "World Moves On." The Onderdonk pictures are shown for fees which are adjusted to the resources of the organizations sponsoring their showing. Dr. Onderdonk's address is 1331 Geddes Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich.

Forty States Record No Lynchings in Past Year

George E. Haynes, of the Federal council's department of race relations, reports that there were no lynchings last year in 40 of the 48 states of the union. There were 15 lynchings in the other eight states, the report showed; in 1933 the total was 28.

Plan Greater Chicago Easter Sunrise Service

Under the joint auspices of young people's organizations of more than 20 denominations represented in greater Chicago, a great sunrise service will again be held this year at 6:30 Easter morning at Soldier Field.

Catholics Plan National Youth Week

Among the special features of the Catholic national youth week, April 27-May 4, will be youth recognition day, youth day in churches, youths' vocation day, youths' health day and youths' citizenship day.

The New Films

These summaries and evaluations are supplied by the National Film Estimate service. Estimates are for three groups: A, intelligent adults; Y, youth (15-20 years); C, children (under 15 years).

Carnival

(Lee Tracy, S. Eilers, J. Durante) (Colum) Low-life, sentimental farce built around motherless baby in traveling carnival. By crooked tricks father fights for child, too incredibly dumb to see his charming partner as ideal second mother till film is long enough.

For A: More or less amusing. For Y: Doubtful. For C: No.

George White's Scandals of 1935

(J. Dunn, Alice Faye) (Fox) Glittering hodge-podge of lavish sets, costumes, dances, vaudeville acts, with jazz, stale humor and banal dialogue. Amusing in spots but largely stupid. When barred from being risque, George seems lost.

For A: Stupid. For Y: Waste of time. For C: No.

Great God Gold

(Sidney Blackmer, Martha Sleeper) (Monogram) Prosy, semi-effective exposé of receivership racket. Hero, able and honorable man of affairs, inveigled by shysters, solemnly flips coin to decide this and other important steps, always wrong.

For A: Feeble. For Y: Better not. For C: No.

Love in Bloom

(George Burns, Gracie Allen) (Para) Idiotic title for rather inane, cheaply sentimental story about struggling young songwriter who finally sells a hit, and young singer trying to escape carnival beckground.

"Here is a book at once formidable and fruitful . . . One of the most important missionary books of the year . . . A completely new approach to missionary science and technique—the sociological-psychological."

Such is the estimate of Professor W. D. Schermerhorn (Garrett Biblical Seminary) of ARCHIBALD G. BAKER'S new volume

Christian Missions and a New World Culture

Professor Schermerhorn gives the book a full page review in RELIGION AND LIFE.

Says the Chinese Recorder: "This book presents a method for rebuilding missions. It has plenty of retrospection, but it also looks forward. Students of Christianity should read it thoughtfully."

The Christian Leader: "Here is a study of what is actually happening in the mission field . . . It is a description in scholarly language of the applied common sense of successful missionaries."

Charles Clayton Morrison hails this book as "the most important interpretation of Christian missions that has appeared since the modern missionary enterprise was launched."

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Occasional Burns and Allen interlude.
For A: Waste of time. For Y: Not the best. For C: No.

Mississippi

(W. C. Fields, B. Crosby, J. Bennett) (Para) Melodramatic, costume romance with southern background. Northern hero, scorned by first fiancée over absurd duel, turns fighting showboat singer. Comic drinking, gambling, Crosby's "singing." Fields steals picture.

For A: Depends on taste. For Y: Probably good. For C: Unsuitable.

Naughty Marietta

(Nelson Eddy, J. MacDonald, F. Morgan) (MGM) Herbert's romantic operetta finely screened. Charming backgrounds of old France and New Orleans, beautifully sung and acted. Notable hero role by Eddy. Grim pirate scenes. A most delightful "musical."

For A: Excellent. For Y: Excellent. For C: Little interest.

Traveling Saleslady

(Joan Blondell, W. Gargan) (1st Natl) Lively, preposterous farce. Heroine, denied job in father's toothpaste business, joins rival firm selling cocktail-flavored product. Hilarious nonsense as she tricks and out-smarts competitors, forcing merger.

For A: Depends on taste. For Y: Probably amusing. For C: Little interest.

Vanessa

(Helen Hayes, R. Montgomery) (MG M) Walpole's dramatic, appealing love story of two of the Herries clan kept apart by tragic circumstances, in dignified Victorian England. Fine characterizations by notable cast, especially May Robson and Otto Kruger.

For A: Interesting. For Y: Mature. For C: Unsuitable.

Best Recent Films for Family:

Baboona	Life Begins at Forty
David Copperfield	Little Men
The Little Colonel	Sequoia

Films of Special Interest for Adults:

Lives of a Bengal Lancer	Ruggles of Red Gap
The Good Fairy	The Scarlet Pimpernel
Mystery of Edwin Drood	Mills of the Gods

BOOKS RECEIVED

A Saint in the Slave Trade, Peter Claver (1581-1654), by Arnold Lunn. Sheed & Ward, $2.50.

Chronicles of Barabbas, 1884-1934, by George H. Doran. Harcourt, $3.50.

Philosophy, an Introductory Study of Fundamental Problems and Attitudes, by Clifford Barrett. Macmillan, $3.00.

Kate Chase, Dominant Daughter, by Mary Merwin Phelps. Crowell, $3.00.

I, Candidate for Governor, and How I Got Licked, by Upton Sinclair. Author, Station A, Pasadena, Calif., $1.50.

What About God? by Roger W. Babson. Revell, 75 cents.

The Younger Churchmen Look at the Church, edited by Ralph H. Read. Macmillan, $2.50.

The Spirit of Catholicism, by Karl Adam. Revised edition. Macmillan, $1.50.

Ordeal, the Story of My Life, by Marie, Queen of Roumania. Scribners, $3.75.

The Modern Goliath, a Study of Talking Pictures, by Milton Anderson. David Press, 1329 S. Alvarado St., Los Angeles, $1.50.

Wordsworth's Anti-Climaxes, by Willard L. Sperry. Harvard University Press, $2.50.

Strange Holiness, by Robert P. Tristram Coffin. Macmillan, $1.75.

Even in Laughter, by Constance Cassady and Ruth Cardwell. Bobbs-Merrill, $2.00.

Poems, by John Masefield. Complete edition with recent poems. Macmillan, $5.00.

Michelangelo the Man, by Donald Lord Finlayson. Crowell, $3.50.

God's Search for Man, by Karl Barth and Eduard Thurneysen. Round Table Press, $2.00.

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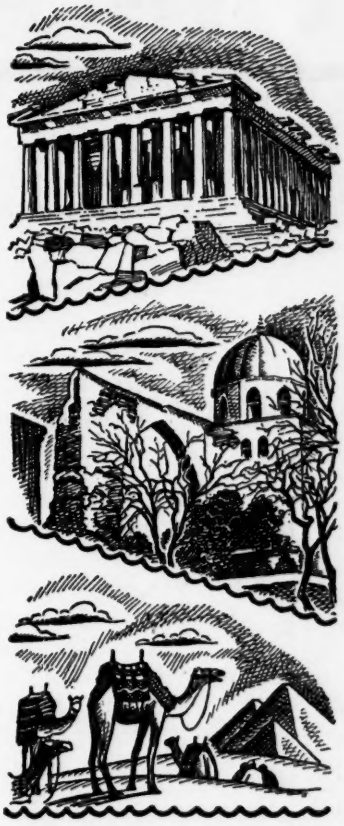

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The Arms Inquiry

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No more sensational revelations of the reasons why war persists have ever been made than in the U. S. senate investigation of the munitions industry, conducted by the sub-committee headed by Senator Gerald P. Nye. But that investigation has been under way for eight months. Only a small part of the testimony has ever appeared in the press. And already much that has appeared has been forgotten.

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The special attention of our readers is directed to this important survey. Extra copies of The Christian Century will be available at a special price of 10 cents, or $7.50 per hundred. Plan to distribute at least 100 copies in your community. It will have a powerful effect on public opinion. Reserve a supply now!

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